Daily Report

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FBIS-EEU-90-038 CONTENTS *26 February 1990*

NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

BULGARIA

BCP Supreme Council Adopts 'Major' Initiatives *[BTA]* 1
Opposition: BCP Policy 'Unconstructive' *[BTA]* 2
Opposition Holds Protest Rally in Varna *[Sofia Radio]* 2
Zhelev Speaks at Khaskovo Opposition Rally *[Sofia Radio]* 2
Opposition Holds Protest Rally in Sofia 3
- 200,000 Urge End to Communist Rule *[AFP]* 3
- UDF Drafts Resolution *[AFP]* 3
- UDF Says BCP Used its Initiatives *[Sofia Radio]* 4
- Rally Launches UDF Election Campaign *[BTA]* 4
- 'Outrage' Against Dimitrov Mausoleum *[BTA]* 5

Government Discusses 'Urgent Economic Measures' *[BTA]* 5
BCP Berates Yugoslavia's 'Gross Interference' *[BTA]* 6
'SFRY's Anti-Bulgarian Campaign' Protested *[Sofia Radio]* 6
- More on Blagoevgrad Rally *[BTA]* 6

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Havel Concludes U.S. Visit in New York City *[CTK]* 8
- Meets With UN's Perez de Cuellar *[CTK]* 8

Havel Returns, Gives Impressions of U.S. Trip 8
- Objectives Realized *[Prague TV]* 8
- Hosts News Conference *[Prague TV]* 9
- Achieved 'More Than We Expected' *[Prague TV]* 10

Havel Addresses 'Anti-February' Rally *[CTK]* 11
Havel Insists on 'Truth' in Prague Address *[Prague Radio]* 12
Gorbachev, Havel To Renew 'Friendly Relations' *[Moscow TV]* 17
- President, Delegation Embark on Moscow Trip *[CTK]* 17
- Soviet Official Optimistic About Visit *[CTK]* 17

Timetable Outlined for USSR Troop Withdrawal *[CTK]* 17
- First Units Leaving East Bohemia *[Prague Radio]* 18
- Journalists Inspect Soviet HQ's at Milovice *[Prague Radio]* 18
- Further Coverage of Milovice Visit *[Prague TV]* 18
- Security Chief Appeals for Calm *[Prague Radio]* 19

CPSU Plenum Results Described as Compromise *[Jancura in Bratislava PRAVDA 9 Feb]* 19
Soviet Destabilization, Gorbachev Prospects Viewed *[Doleckova on Prague Radio]* 20
Coup Rumors Spark Security Forces' Reinforcement 21
- Worries Over Feb 1948 Commemoration *[CTK]* 21
- Due to 'Fear of Dark Forces' *[TANJUG]* 21

Roundtable Talks Consider Election Law Issues 21
- Discuss Terms of Office, Financing *[Prague Radio]* 21
- Campaign Ethics Debated *[RUDE PRAVO 24 Feb]* 22

Slovak Government Sessions Debate New Legislation 22
- Amends Business Venture Laws *[Bratislava PRAVDA 20 Feb]* 22
- Reviews Media Problems *[Bratislava PRAVDA 22 Feb]* 23

Slovak Communist Party Postpones Apr Congress *[CTK]* 25
Three Killed in Explosion at Military Base *[CTK]* 25
Persecuted Officers Returning to Army *[RUDE PRAVO 22 Feb]* 25

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Defense Minister Wants Troops To Stay *[ADN]* 26
FRG-GDR SPD Joint Policy Statement *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 20 Feb]* 26
FRG's Vogel Addresses SPD Rally *[ADN]* 26
SPD's Boehme Discusses Possible Coalitions *[Hamburg BILD 24 Feb]* 27
First SPD Congress Continues Session *[ADN]* 27
- Boehme Elected Chairman *[ADN]* 28
- Party Congress Continues *[ADN]* 28
- Deputy Chairpersons Elected *[ADN]* 28
- Romberg Addresses Congress *[ADN]* 28
- Basic Program Debated *[ADN]* 28
- Brandt Honorary Chairman *[ADN]* 29
- Brandt Addresses Congress *[ADN]* 29
- Program of Principles *[ADN]* 29
- Executive Elected *[ADN]* 29
- Boehme on Modrow Candidacy *[Hamburg DPA]* 29
- Resolution Critcizes Stasi *[ADN]* 30
- Ex-SED Members' Embargoed *[ADN]* 30
- Official Forecasts Results *[ADN]* 30
- Election Platform Passed *[ADN]* 30
- Vogel Addresses Congress *[ADN]* 31
- Congress Ends *[ADN]* 31

Brandt, Boehme Address Leipzig Election Rally *[ADN]* 32
Brandt Addresses Karl-Marx-Stadt Rally *[ADN]* 32
PDS Opens First Congress, Approves Party Name *[ADN]* 32
- Hoepke, Pohl Present Documents *[ADN]* 32
- Gysi on Unification *[ADN]* 33
- Gysi on Military Service *[ADN]* 33
- Modrow To Run as Candidate *[ADN]* 33
- Modrow on Candidacy *[ADN]* 34
- Luft To Run as Candidate *[ADN]* 34
- Electoral Platform Accepted *[ADN]* 34
- Election Platform Approved *[ADN]* 34
- Congress Ends *[ADN]* 35

Modrow Discusses Candidacy Again *[ADN]* 35
- Further on News Conference *[ADN]* 36

Draft of PDS Statute Released *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 17-18 Feb]* 36
Gysi Stresses Democratic Socialism *[ADN]* 40
Gysi Addresses PDS Rally in Berlin *[ADN]* 40
Modrow Urges 'Sensible Script' for Unification *[ADN]* 40
Modrow Cautious About German Unification *[ADN]* 40
Democratic Awakening Calls for Early Unity *[ADN]* 41
FRG's Genscher Addresses Election Rally *[ADN]* 41
Independent Socialists Opt Out of Elections *[ADN]* 41
United Left, Carnations Form Alliance *[ADN]* 41
IFM Calls for Dissolution of Military Blocs *[ADN]* 41
Social Democrats Demand Army Disbandment *[ADN]* 42
Greens, Independent Women's Union Platform *[ADN]* 42
'Alliance 90' Announces Election Candidates *[ADN]* 42
Socialist Workers Federation To Enter Elections *[ADN]* 42
Commission Gives Vote to Citizens Abroad *[ADN]* 42
Free Democratic Party Political Broadcast *[East Berlin TV]* 43
De Maiziere Nominated as Top CDU Candidate *[Hamburg DPA]* 43
- Comments on Campaign *[Hamburg DPA]* 43
- Says Roundtable 'Superfluous' *[ADN]* 43

National Roundtable Opens 14th Session *[ADN]* 44
- Culture Minister Speaks *[ADN]* 44
- PDS on Labor Conditions *[ADN]* 44

Honecker Put 75 Million DM in Own Account *[ADN]* 44
Independent Women's Association Established *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 19 Feb]* 44

Homosexuals' Association Established *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 19 Feb]* 44
Subsidies for Newspapers To Be Abolished *[BERLINER ALLGEMEINE 21 Feb]* 45
New Bimonthly Political Journal Published *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 8 Feb]* 45

HUNGARY

Horn Anxious Over 'Uncertain' USSR Situation *[Budapest Radio]* 46
Democratic Forum Calls for Soviet Pullout *[MTI]* 46
Horn Further Explains Remarks on NATO *[Budapest Radio]* 46
HDF Official Discusses Political Situation *[NEPSZABADSAG 16 Feb]* 47
Antall Addresses HDF Election Rally *[MTI]* 47
MSZP Election Discussion Broadcast *[Budapest Radio]* 48
Pozsgay, Nyers Address Election Rally *[Budapest Radio]* 49
National Party Makes Political Broadcast *[Budapest TV]* 49
Gypsy Party Association's Political Broadcast *[Budapest Radio]* 50
Alliance of Free Democrats Chooses Chairman *[Budapest Radio]* 50
Kis Discusses Europe *[Budapest Radio]* 50
Radical Party Chairman Gives Election Address *[Budapest TV]* 52
'Patriotic Electoral Coalition' Rally Held *[MTI]* 52
Association of Nonparty People Airs Stance *[Budapest Radio]* 52
Petrasovits Writes Letter to Nemeth *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 20 Feb]* 53
Christian Democratic People's Party Rally Held *[MTI]* 53
Parties Running in 25 Mar Elections Listed *[MTI]* 53
* Program for National Assembly February Session *[NEPSZABADSAG 30 Jan]* 54
National Assembly To Meet 14 Mar *[MTI]* 54
Rally Calls for Radar Project Cancellation *[MTI]* 54
Change in Armed Forces Previewed *[Budapest Radio]* 55
Hungarian Defense Alliance Transformed *[Budapest Radio]* 55
General Denies Rumors on Selling Jet Fighters *[MTI]* 55
Ethnic Germans Claim War Compensation *[MTI]* 55
Bank President Outlines IMF Talks *[Budapest Radio]* 56
Trade Union Spokesman on Social Pact Aims *[Budapest Radio]* 56
Commodity Exchange To Open at Szentes *[MTI]* 56

POLAND

Israeli Foreign Minister To Discuss Resuming Ties *[PAP]* 57
Arrives for 3-Day Visit 26 Feb *[Warsaw Radio]* 57
Poland-FRG Forum Views Unification Concerns *[Warsaw Radio]* 57
Skubiszewski Addresses Forum *[Warsaw TV]* 57
Forum Addresses Cooperation *[PAP]* 58
Forum Concludes Debates *[PAP]* 58
Secretary Baker Cited on Two Plus Four Format *[PAP]* 59
Mazowiecki, Kohl Hold Phone Discussion on Unity *[Warsaw TV]* 59
Kohl Holds To Former Stance on Borders *[PAP]* 59
'Anarchists' Group Demonstrates in Warsaw 23 Feb *[PAP]* 60
'Skinheads' Attack African Students in Wroclaw *[Warsaw Radio]* 60
Defense Committee Adopts Defense Doctrine *[PAP]* 60
Lech Walesa Holds News Conference 23 Feb *[PAP]* 62
Commentary Assesses SDRP Congress Meeting *[Maziarski in TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC 9 Feb]* 62
Geremek on State of Political Arena *[KONFRONTACJE 25 Feb]* 63
Sejm Opens Session With Economic Debates *[PAP]* 64
Reaches Resolutions *[PAP]* 65
Adopts 10-Point Budgetary Resolution *[PAP]* 65
Ends 3-Day Session *[Warsaw Radio]* 66

ROMANIA

Celac on Foreign Policy Issues *[ROMPRES]* 67
Says Election Observers Welcome *[ROMPRES]* 67
Iliescu, Stanculescu Address Cadres at Ceremony *[Bucharest Radio]* 67

Stanculescu on Army's Role, Political Pluralism *[ROMPRES]* 68
Stanculescu on Securitate Disbanding *[Paris LE MONDE 23 Feb]* 69
NSF Identity Questioned; New Members Sought *[Mincu in ROMANIA LIBERA 6 Feb]* 70
NSF Political Platform Viewed as 'Superior' *[ROMPRES]* 70
PNUC Plenary Session Resumes Discussion *[ROMPRES]* 71
Decree Law Under Debate *[ROMPRES]* 71
Warning Not To Curb Freedom *[ROMPRES]* 71
'Heated But Constructive' Debates *[ROMPRES]* 72
Deterioration to 'Mutual Blaming' *[ROMPRES]* 72
Chitac Statement *[ROMPRES]* 72
Agenda Not 'Exhausted' *[Bucharest Radio]* 73
Tokes Concerned About Slowing Democratization *[MTI]* 73
Iliescu Urges Creation of Antifascist Movement *[AFP]* 73
* Brucan on Mass Meetings, Upcoming Elections *[ROMANIA LIBERA 31 Jan]* 74
* Dialogue Among Political Parties Urged 76
* NSF, Demonstrations Viewed *[ADEVARUL 31 Jan]* 76
* NSF Role Examined *[ADEVARUL 1 Feb]* 77

YUGOSLAVIA

Reportage on Slovenia-Serbia Dispute 80
Markovic Urged To Intervene *[TANJUG]* 80
Slovene Official Explains Talks *[DELO 13 Feb]* 80
Serbian Premier on Talks *[POLITIKA 21 Feb]* 81
'Nothing Agreed' in Talks *[Zarkovic in BORBA 22 Feb]* 81
LCY Presidency Seeks Congress Resumption *[TANJUG]* 82
Pancevski Cited on LCY Congress Agenda *[TANJUG]* 82
More Reportage on Unrest, Reaction in Kosovo 83
Pristina Curfew Violated *[TANJUG]* 83
Pec Gunfire Frightens Serbs, Others *[TANJUG]* 83
Albanian 'Rampage' in Titova Mitrovica *[TANJUG]* 83
Boycott of Classes Continues *[TANJUG]* 84
Kosovo Polje Activists Attacked *[TANJUG]* 84
'Several Thousand' Ready To Settle *[BORBA 20 Feb]* 84
Albanians Sentenced in Prizren *[BORBA 16 Feb]* 84
'Independent Journalists' Decry Repression *[Pristina Radio]* 85
Slovene Party Issues Statement *[TANJUG]* 85
Slovenes To Oppose Kosovo Orders *[DELO 22 Feb]* 85
Albanians Protest Militia Violence *[RILINDJA 18 Feb]* 86
Islamic Elders' Statement *[TANJUG]* 87
Islamic Council Condemns Religious Violence *[TANJUG]* 88
Pancevski Addresses Kosovo Aktiv *[BORBA 15 Feb]* 88
Banja Luka City Transport Workers Strike *[TANJUG]* 90
Milosevic Accused of Plotting Against Jovic *[VJESNIK 16 Feb]* 90
Drnovsek Leaves on Official Visit to Egypt *[TANJUG]* 90
Loncar, Eagleburger Discuss Cooperation *[TANJUG]* 91
Loncar Letter to UN Chief on Kosovo *[TANJUG]* 91

BCP Supreme Council Adopts 'Major' Initiatives

AU2402151090 Sofia BTA in English 1256 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 24 (BTA)—At its meeting which ended late last night the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] adopted a package of seven major political initiatives aimed at tangible changes and democratization of the political system and society as a whole.

The BCP Supreme Council suggests to all negotiating partners that the national round-table talks be upgraded to a permanently functioning general political forum which should undertake to address the most important political and socio-economic issues, that it should be attended by higher-level delegations with all parties and organisations being represented by their senior leaders, that working committees of experts be formed and that the propaganda fuss in the proceedings be abandoned.

The parties, the movements and the organisations attending the national round-table talks are approached with a proposal for national agreement to guarantee the peaceful transition to a democratic political system. It is suggested that all political systems undertake that they will not use force and that they guarantee non-interference in each other's political affairs. The BCP Supreme Council calls for the maintenance of security and public order.

Another document makes a symbolic gesture to the opposition, suggesting that the general elections be held in June instead of in May. In order to make sure that the democratic character of the elections will not give rise to speculation, the BCP Supreme Council comes up with the idea that the parliaments of the USSR, the United States, the FRG, France, the UK, Canada, Finland, and Austria, as well as the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe and the European Parliament be invited to send two members each as guests of the Bulgarian state during the elections.

Guided by the conviction that national interests should be placed before party interests, the BCP Supreme Council believes that legislation should be enacted to terminate the existence of workplace and place-of-study branches of parties and other political organisations. The council categorically disagrees with the formation of workplace politically oriented semi-syndicalist, semi-partisan structures.

A decision was adopted to consult all party members at a referendum in May about the name of the party. It is suggested that the party be renamed the Bulgarian Socialist Party.

It was decided to establish a BCP youth organisation which should be independent and should work in interaction and cooperation with the party.

The BCP Supreme Council adopted a declaration on the so-called Macedonian question, in which the anti-Bulgarian propaganda campaign in Yugoslavia is assessed as gross interference in this country's internal affairs.

It was decided that the BCP parliamentary faction move to the State Council to designate March 3, the anniversary of Bulgaria's liberation from the Turkish yoke, as this country's National Day, and that the State Council president consult all political forces on a joint celebration of this holiday.

The BCP Supreme Council decided that an election fund of the Bulgarian Communist Party should be established.

The participants in the meeting considered the collectively elaborated assessments of the BCP Presidium on the political situation in the country. The most important aspect of it is the ongoing democratization process which began on November 10, 1989. This very dynamic process placed the BCP in the conditions of genuine political pluralism. This requires that the party develop a keen sense of orientation, a modern evaluation of the new parties and organisations and flexible political activism.

The very high and steadily growing politicization among all strata of the population was singled out as another characteristic feature of this stage. It was found that the BCP still fails to react adequately to these processes, and that this failure is evidenced by its continued inaction. Part of the cadres and organisations are in a state of shock. One example of a way to overcome this condition is the composed, well-grounded, intelligent and clear style in which RABOTNICHESKO DELO fends off the attacks against the BCP.

The BCP should treat carefully its traditional allies and should adopt a new strategy towards them. The participants pointed to the danger of nationalism in the country's political life and stressed that in the face of this danger, the BCP should be principled and consistent and should stand firm on its chosen path of national concord and reconciliation.

It was emphasized that the deepening economic crisis now poses the most serious threat to the BCP and to the country. The sluggish drafting of a short-term and long-term crisis management programme is justifiably criticized and resented inside the party and among all strata of the population.

This analysis provided the motivation for the need of the Bulgarian Communist Party coming up with the package of major political initiatives for the settlement of questions of crucial significance for the promotion of democracy both in the party and in society as a whole.

Opposition: BCP Policy 'Unconstructive'

AU2402181090 Sofia BTA in English 2227 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 23 (BTA)—The opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) today called for mass protest against the policy of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] which "torpedoes the national round-table talks, declares itself against the democratization process and is pushing the country towards political and social confrontation." The opposition says that the incumbent BCP leadership is pursuing an unconstructive policy.

An SDS declaration, read on national television this evening, says that after the Union of Democratic Forces and the Bulgarian Agrarian Party had agreed to the wording of an agreement on the country's political system, Mr. Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the BCP Supreme Council, yesterday handed Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, chairman of the Union of Democratic Forces, a proposal for a new draft agreement.

The contents of this draft leads the opposition to the conclusion that the BCP leadership does not want to recognize the national round-table negotiations as an expression of the political will of the Bulgarian people which should guarantee the irreversibility of the democratic process. "The BCP leadership avoids signing any legislative reforms of the political system, without which the latter cannot be democratized, so that free elections could be held," the declaration reads.

According to the SDS, the BCP leadership wants all decisions to be taken by the existing state institutions on the basis of the effective laws, even though these laws are direct holdovers from the totalitarian system.

The BCP leadership is applying fait accompli tactics. Crucial bills on political parties, on constitutional amendments, on ownership, etc., were introduced in the National Assembly without being first discussed at the round-table talks, the declaration says.

Acting unilaterally, the BCP solved major questions concerning the management of national radio and television, the reorganisation of state security, the reform in book publishing, without so much as notifying the participants in the round-table talks, the declaration emphasizes.

As to the disbandment of the parties' workplace branches, the BCP leadership invokes its rules and disregards the national interests, the declaration says. The BCP leadership refuses to adopt a specific decision on an examination of the BCP assets, of the immovable property it has acquired and of the incomes of its former and incumbent leaders. It also refuses to terminate the unlawful acts whereby it controls the activity of the state and economic bodies and of the public organisations.

The opposition accuses the BCP leadership of refusing to secure material and other conditions for the participation of other political forces in the election campaign on an equal footing.

The declaration stresses that the SDS is in favour of a constructive dialogue on the peaceful elimination of the still intact totalitarian system.

The Union of Democratic Forces calls on all citizens of Bulgaria who hold dear freedom, democracy, social security and peace to attend a protest rally in Sofia on February 25 and proclaims the days until March 3, the date on which Bulgaria was liberated from Turkish yoke, as days of protest and struggle for freedom and democracy. The SDS insists that the National Assembly be convened at its next session in order to enact laws reforming the political system only after the national round-table talks have reached agreement on the drafts of these laws.

Opposition Holds Protest Rally in Varna

AU2402164490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] This afternoon the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF] organized a rally for democracy and public protest in the 9 September Square in the center of Varna. Thousands of citizens and representatives of the movements and associations which are members of the UDF took part.

The speakers made calls for increasing the circulation of the DEMOKRATSIYA daily, for changing the status of the roundtable into that of a new parliamentary organ, and for disbanding the primary party organizations at workplaces.

Dozens of placards were displayed with slogans insisting that Petur Mladenov and Andrey Lukanov take part in the roundtable, that the fences surrounding the residences and rest homes on the Black Sea coast be dismantled, and that the movement toward legality and democracy be intensified.

Zhelev Speaks at Khaskovo Opposition Rally

AU2402215390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] The Union of Democratic Forces [UDF] (?has become) a political force—this was the maxim at today's rally held in the 9 September Square in Khaskovo. Those present raised slogans in favor of parliamentary democracy, against the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], and in favor of disbanding the primary party organizations at workplaces.

UDF Chairman Zhelyu Zhelev stated in his speech that the chief task now is to strengthen the union's unity and to draw all the opposition forces together against the BCP in order to ensure its defeat.

He delivered a warning that if the National Assembly session scheduled for 5 March was not canceled, in order to provide time for the draft laws submitted for vote by the parliament to be first discussed at the national roundtable, the UDF delegation would not return to the roundtable.

The UDF standpoint was once again confirmed that the free elections should be held toward the end of the year. If this does not happen, the UDF will insist first of all on holding elections for a Great National Assembly, which would adopt a new democratic Constitution and an electoral law, after which elections would be held for an ordinary National Assembly.

The meeting approved by vote a declaration which addresses demands to both the authorities in Khaskovo and the organs of central power, calling for a drastic dismantling of the repressive apparatus, for citizens to have access to their personal files, for reduction of the length of military service, and the declaration of 3 March as a national holiday.

It was announced that the local UDF organization in the town organized a petition to demand the recall of Aleksi Ivanov, Vasil Pashev, Damyan Alekov, and Stoyan Stoyanov, who represent Khaskovo in the National Assembly.

Opposition Holds Protest Rally in Sofia

200,000 Urge End to Communist Rule

AU2502143590 Paris AFP in English 1303 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Text] SOFIA, Feb 25 (AFP)—Two hundred thousand people packed into a central square in Sofia on Sunday to demonstrate against the ruling Bulgarian Communist Party. In the largest turnout since the dismissal of hardline leader Todor Zhivkov last November, supporters of several opposition groups gathered outside the party's headquarters on September 9 Square to demand an end to communist rule.

Demonstrators chanted slogans such as: "No more communism", "No talks but a trial for the Communist Party". One banner called for the return of ex-king Simeon who fled into exile when the Communists took power after World War II and now lives in Spain.

The rally was called by the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) which comprises the main opposition parties and movements. It marked the start of a week of protests against the communist "policy of faits accomplis", UDF spokesman Lyubomir Pavlov said.

Mr. Pavlov said the opposition welcomed the "reasonable" decisions of the Communist leadership tending towards greater democracy, notably the announcement Friday that it was to abolish the party cells in the workplace. The issue was one of several that is blocking the resumption of round-table talks between government and opposition on the country's future, broken off on February 12.

On Saturday UDF president Zhelyu Zhelev set a new condition for the resumption of the talks when he called for a parliamentary session scheduled to start on March 5 to be put back to give the round-table time to discuss the parliament's legislative programme. Among the subjects parliament is due to discuss are political parties, elections, property, and the removal of ideology from the Constitution.

On Friday the Communist Party leadership decided to hold an internal referendum in March on changing the party's name, proposing the name Bulgarian Socialist Party in order to mark its distance from "the distortions of the recent past". It said that as a "symbolic gesture towards the opposition", it would propose putting back free elections from May to June, following complaints by the opposition that it had not had enough time to prepare.

The party also suggested inviting representatives from the Soviet Union, the United States, France, West Germany, Britain, Canada, Finland and Austria, as well as from the European Parliament and the Council of Europe's parliamentary assembly, to witness the elections.

The party also called for a pact among all political groups represented in round table discussions "not to resort to force or interference in the internal affairs of one another" in order to ensure a "peaceful passage" towards democracy.

UDF Drafts Resolution

AU2502183390 Paris AFP in English 1811 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Sofia, Feb 25 (AFP)—Around 200,000 people shouting "Communism never again" protested here Sunday to press demands for multi-party democracy in Bulgaria and for a formal end to dominance by the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP).

"The winter of our discontent is finished and the springtime of our struggle now begins," according to a resolution drafted during the protest, the largest in the country since the November 10 ouster of hardline leader Todor Zhivkov. The umbrella Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) which organized the protest said the resolution comprised the "main elements" of its pre-electoral program.

The protesters shouted "Down with the BCP" and carried banners reading "Democracy, glasnost, pluralism" and "No talks but a trial for the BCP." The demonstration took place beside the headquarters of the Communist Party and marked the start of a week of protests against the country's communist government.

The UDF is an umbrella organization grouping 13 of the country's main opposition movements.

UDF leader Zhelyu Zhelev got resounding applause from the crowd when he called on the Bulgarian people to apply "powerful, organized mass pressure" on the BCP. He said the UDF would "not allow" new legislation on political parties, elections, property ownership and constitutional amendments to be approved by the parliament until they had been discussed at round-table talks between the government and opposition groups. "The driving force of the round table lies in demonstrations and not in diplomacy," Mr. Zhelev said.

The resolution stated that strengthening Bulgaria's ties with western Europe was a "priority" for opposition groups while traditional links with other Eastern European countries should be maintained but only "on the principle of equality." The UDF also called for development of a market economy on the basis of private property ownership and free competition, the drafting of a new Constitution and the holding of truly free elections open to all parties.

In the meantime, all major decisions concerning the country should be approved by the parliament only after consultations at the round-table talks, the group said. [passage omitted]

UDF Says BCP Used its Initiatives

AU2502194190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Text] A mass rally took place today with the participation of many thousands of citizens at Sofia's 9 September Square. It was called a protest rally. About 20 speakers from various opposition parties and movements expressed opinions on the Supreme Party Council's declaration, which was published today.

Serious accusations were addressed at the higher party nomenklatura. The Union of Democratic Forces [UDF] accused the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] of presenting many UDF initiatives as its own, something that contributes to inaccurate public opinion. The sluggishness in effecting changes in public and economic life and the delay in disbanding existing economic structures that hinder its development were criticized.

The necessity of creating conditions to allow the free and creative expression of the individual's personality was pointed out. The demand was expressed with regard to creating conditions for the privatization of agriculture, industry, and other spheres, while guaranteeing the development of private initiative. Many of the speakers noted the necessity to create a normal preelection atmosphere and to grant equal opportunities to all opposition forces to participate in the elections.

The issue of ecology was also raised. Independent Ecoglasnost Movement Chairman Petur Slabakov declared that Ecoglasnost will oppose any party that comes to power, as long as ecological hazards for the Bulgarian people continue to exist.

UDF Chairman Zhelyu Zhelev said in his concluding speech that not only the goals, but the means of change must also be democratic. He pointed out that the transition toward democracy by peaceful means is not a utopia but a completely possible development, which requires precision and loyalty in the dialogue about national consensus.

The meeting adopted a declaration, whose basic demands are: depoliticizing work places by disbanding the party organizations; enhancing the status of the national roundtable; guaranteeing equal opportunities to all political forces; conducting peaceful foreign policy by giving priority to relations with the Western states and simultaneously preserving the traditional relations with the East European countries and the USSR; to make 3 March Bulgaria's National Day; and to rename 9 September Square Democracy Square.

Rally Launches UDF Election Campaign

AU2502205990 Sofia BTA in English 1922 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 25 (BTA)—More than 200 thousand people gathered for the biggest rally that has ever been held in Sofia and gave their support to the demands of the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF). The participants adopted a resolution which actually gives an idea about the preelection programme of the opposition. The UDF declares itself to be for "a second Bulgarian Republic, a new system of state and a new Constitution". These ends can be achieved through free and just elections. Petko Simeonov, one of the UDF leaders, said that the opposition does not want experiments to be made with the country any more and that it is just simple things the opposition wants: freedom, private property, market economy, multiparty system.

The resolution underlines that Bulgaria should pursue a peaceful foreign policy. The relations with Western Europe should be given priority and the traditional relations with the East European countries and the Soviet Union should be upheld and promoted, but on the basis of equality. The Balkans need urgent foreign political initiatives, it is said in the resolution. The UDF is for a summit meeting of the leaders of the Balkan countries within the next few months. The opposition considers that such a meeting would be of paramount importance for strengthening the confidence in the peninsula.

It was announced that the economic programmes of the opposition parties will be published shortly.

The speakers who took the floor at the three-hour-long rally expressed their views on the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] proposals adopted by its leadership and published today. They actually repeated what UDF Chairman Zhelyu Zhelev had said. In his opinion the

BCP, which refused to sign the agreement on the political system between the ruling parties and the UDF at the roundtable talks, is trying to create the impression that it is willing to raise the status of the roundtable. The UDF will insist on discussing all important bills—the amendments to the Constitution, the Election Bill, the Bill of Parties, the Property Bill—at the roundtable talks before they are submitted for discussion to the National Assembly. The UDF insists that the sessions of the roundtable at which the bills will be discussed should be directly broadcast by the radio and television.

The leaders of the UDF called for giving broad support to the democratic movements and parties, for greater political and civil activity. They appealed on the reform-minded Communists to join forces with the common resistance put up against the nomenklatura. At today's meeting the UDF received the support of parties which are not members of the union. One of them is the Alternative Socialist Party (ASP) which was formed by splitting from a faction of the BCP. The initiator of its establishment, Nikolay Vasilev, stated that the ASP supports the demands of the UDF for accelerating and not conserving democratic reforms. He accused the BCP nomenklatura of representing the initiatives of the opposition as its own idea and characterized the actions of the rulers as "creeping restoration".

Speakers from other parties and movements blamed the BCP for hampering the democratization of the country and expressed fears that delaying the transition from totalitarianism to democracy may pose a threat to its peaceful implementation. The participants in the rally raised slogans against the BCP and the regime established by it: "With BCP—to feudalism", "No more socialism", "BCP—a university of demagogy", "The Dictator was ousted, but dictatorship stayed. Go away". One of the speakers said that the best help the BCP can give to democracy is taking the place of the present opposition.

The representative of the Radical Social Democratic Party, Mikhail Nedelchev, criticized the BCP policy on the ethnic problem. He said that the main "contribution" to the history of the so-called Macedonian problem was made by the Comintern and that its decision of the 20's was worked out with the active participation of eminent representatives of the BCP. He spoke about the consequences of national nihilisms which for decades has been an element of the ideology of the ruling circles.

People from the country also attended the rally in the capital. Cables approved by the rallies in other settlements were read. These days in many places of the country the supporters of the UDF have convened rallies in support of democracy.

'Outrage' Against Dimitrov Mausoleum

AU2602082790 Sofia BTA in English 2208 GMT 25 Feb 90

["Demonstrators on Mausoleum Rostrum"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 25 (BTA)—After today's rally of the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) in Sofia some citizens got on the rostrum of Georgi Dimitrov's Mausoleum. The former leaders of the country used to receive parades and demonstrations at it.

Today's case was characterized in TV statements of representatives of the city authorities as "a breach of the peace", "an impermissible act" and "an outrage against a sacred thing".

There have been disputes in the press of late whether the mausoleum is necessary. It has also been called "a symbol of totalitarianism". A representative of the City Council said that today demands were made for pulling the mausoleum down, but he did not blame it on the organizers of the rally the Union of Democratic Forces.

A representative of the Chief Prosecutor's Office announced that the case will be investigated. Colonel Vulkov, in charge of the protection of the rally, admitted that the representatives of the UDF cooperated and underlined that there have not been such incidents before. He said that some participants in the rally pushed the guard of honor of the mausoleum aside by force, which amounts to a breach of peace. According to him some of the speeches contained incitement for similar acts.

Government Discusses 'Urgent Economic Measures'

AU2402183490 Sofia BTA in English 1720 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 24 (BTA)—At its session today the Council of Ministers discussed some documents which will be submitted to the National Assembly at its session scheduled for March 5, 1990.

The members of the Council of Ministers discussed the programme for the socio-economic development of the country in 1990, the concept of a radical economic reform and the urgent economic measures related to it, the draft of the state budget, the basic material balances and the foreign exchange balance and some proposals for ensuring suitable economic conditions that would stimulate individual and private initiative in trade and in the public services sector.

The members of the government paid special attention to the social measures which should neutralize as much as possible the unfavourable effects the transition to a market economy will have on the population.

While discussing the draft of the 1990 budget it was pointed out that additional possibilities should be sought

for cutting down the expenditure for the maintenance of management and for decreasing the subsidies and the capital investments financed by the budget. It was underlined that this will not affect the social sphere. On the contrary, it is planned to increase the budget expenditure in the field of health care, education and science.

The Council of Ministers discussed the results of the visit of Foreign Minister Boyko Dimitrov to France. It was noted with satisfaction that the French political leadership shows particular interest in and supports the democratization which is under way in Bulgaria, a process that will create the prerequisites for a new stage in the promotion of the two countries' relations. In this connection it is recommended to the ministries and establishments to work more actively for the extension of mutually advantageous cooperation with France.

The Council of Ministers stated its position and backed up the proposal of France to organize the all-European summit meeting in Paris this year.

BCP Berates Yugoslavia's 'Gross Interference'

AU2402210390 Sofia BTA in English 1921 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 24 (BTA)—The massive anti-Bulgarian propaganda campaign launched in Yugoslavia and especially in SR [Socialist Republic] of Macedonia, the official expression of which was the address of the Yugoslav Skupstina to the Bulgarian National Assembly of February 16, 1990, runs counter to the general constructive spirit in present-day Europe and the principles of detente in the Balkans proclaimed in Belgrade. This campaign can be qualified in no other way but as gross interference in our country's internal affairs, it is said in the declaration of the Supreme Council of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party].

The address of the parliament of Yugoslavia and the public events accompanying it put to a serious test the positive development of Bulgaro-Yugoslav relations that has been achieved with a lot of effort. Unfortunately, certain circles in Yugoslavia misunderstand or do not understand at all the essence of the democratization in all spheres of life in Bulgaria and try to achieve certain political ends by exerting pressure in connection with the so-called "Macedonian problem."

The position of the BCP on this question is based both on historical and present realities. The Bulgarian Communists cannot accept any distortion of the national history of the Bulgarian people or misappropriation of its historical, cultural and spiritual legacy in the name of forming "a Macedonian nation" within Yugoslavia nor can they accept any claims for recognizing a non- existent "Macedonian national minority" in Bulgaria.

The Bulgarian population in the area of the Pirin Macedonia has always clearly and equivocally manifested its ethnic origin and Bulgarian national self-awareness. This population, as it is well- known, categorically rejected the attempts to change forcibly its national identity made in 1946 under pressure from abroad. Today, when we have made it our object to build a democratic and humane socialist society, our party will not allow anybody to try and manipulate part of the citizens of Bulgaria, the declaration says.

In its sincere wish to overcome on a principled basis all obstacles left over by our remote and more recent history, the Bulgarian Communist Party will continue to work for the strengthening of confidence, mutual respect and good-neighbourly relations between the Bulgarian people and the peoples of Yugoslavia, it is said in the declaration.

'SFRY's Anti-Bulgarian Campaign' Protested

AU2502142690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Text] On 25 February in Blagoevgrad's Macedonia Square, near the monument of the legendary Gotse Delchev, a mass rally took place under the slogan: For Bulgarian nationality, peace, democracy, and good-neighborly relations. The rally was organized by all political and public forces in the city in response to the new wave of anti-Bulgarian propaganda in the SFRY.

The speaker, noted historians, Communists, and representatives of the Union of the Democratic Forces and the "Vardar" Macedonian Discussion Club sharply denounced the address of the SFRY parliament to our National Assembly and the rally in Skopje. The unfounded character of the slogans and demands presented by our western neighbor were pointed out. The historical truth about the Bulgarian national character and self-determination of the Pirin region's people were supported by facts, documents, and data.

More on Blagoevgrad Rally

AU2602083590 Sofia BTA in English 2209 GMT 25 Feb 90

["Rally Against Anti-Bulgarian Campaign"—BTA headline]

[Text] Blagoevgrad, February 25 (BTA)—The citizens of Blagoevgrad and representatives of the different public and political forces in the town today gathered for a rally against the anti-Bulgarian campaign launched in neighboring Yugoslavia. The speakers pointed out that its climax was the address of the Yugoslav Skupstina to the Bulgarian National Assembly and the rally in Skopje at which national and cultural autonomy, support and solidarity with the Macedonians in Bulgaria were preached. Yordan Vanchev, a historian, reminded that the people in the Pirin area have never betrayed their Bulgarian national identity. He spoke about the refugees from Macedonia who, persecuted by enslavers and assimilators, left their homes to preserve their Bulgarian national dignity.

Gerogi Lisichkov, chairman of the Municipal Council of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], also condemned the anti-Bulgarian campaign. He characterized the actions of the political circles in Yugoslavia as an attempt to divert the attention from the complicated ethnic problems in federal Yugoslavia by channeling the wave of people's discontent to neighboring Bulgaria which is in a process of democratization and renewal.

The speaker pointed out that despite the conjuncture mistakes the leadership of the BCP and the Bulgarian Government made in the past under pressure from the outside, concerning the policy on the so-called "Macedonian problem" the population of Pirin Macedonia has unambiguously proved its Bulgarian ethnic origin and its Bulgarian national self-awareness. "That is why today, when we made it our object to build a democratic Bulgaria, less than ever can we allow anybody to manipulate us on this problem", the speaker said.

"To the global mistakes in the political, economic, cultural and moral sphere we should add the voluntarism of the communist parties in solving their national problems that stands out against the background of the historical changes carried out in the East European countries", stated the representative of the Regional Union of Democratic Forces, Lyudmil Georgiev. The policy of the Yugoslav Communists followed with regard to the interethnic relations is a continuation of this voluntarism and a real obstacle to the achievement of understanding in the Balkans, he said. Unfortunately the inconsistent national policy of the BCP during its 45-year-long rule has contributed to the new anti-Bulgarian campaign launched by the totalitarian communist regime in Yugoslavia. The Union of Democratic Forces has always pointed out the fact that the population in Pirin Macedonia is a Bulgarian one and that the geographical term Macedonian does not run counter to the term Bulgarian, the speaker stated. The Democratic Forces will defend a position of peaceful state-to-state relations in all spheres of political and social life. The sole guarantors for the friendly Bulgaro-Yugoslav relations will be the democratic societies in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, he underlined.

For more than 40 years here there has been nefarious silence concerning the Macedonian problem, while in another place, at the same time and on the same problem there has been nefarious verbosity, said the spokesman of the Vardar Club, Valentin Popov. The club calls upon the Bulgarian Government and the National Assembly of Bulgaria to do all they can for promoting every kind of contacts personal, cultural, economic and political between the citizens of Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. It is insisted that the future nationality law should allow the citizens of SR [Socialist Republic] Macedonia to acquire Bulgarian citizenship if they want to. The history of Macedonia as part of the national history of Bulgaria should find its proper place in the syllabus of all secondary and higher education establishments, the Bulgarians in the SR Macedonia should be restored to their rights in compliance with the international agreements signed by Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, the speaker said.

The position of the organizers and the participants in the rally was summarized in the declaration adopted by them and addressed to the United Nations, the European Parliament, the Skupstina of Yugoslavia and the National Assembly of Bulgaria.

Havel Concludes U.S. Visit in New York City

LD2302093390 Prague CTK in English 0710 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] New York Feb 23 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel ended early today his visit to the United Staes and left here for home. His arrival in Prague is expected this afternoon.

Thursday afternoon, the Czechoslovak president was handed over an honorary doctorate at New York's Columbia University. In his short address he recalled that he had visited this university 22 years ago, at the time of students strike in protest against the Soviet-led occupation of Czechoslovakia. Last year's students strike in Czechoslovakia was of a completely different character striving not only for the exchange of ruling politicians but also for the creation of a new structure of society, Vaclav Havel said.

Thursday evening, several thousand people gathered in the cathedral church of St. John the Divine in Manhattan to fete Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel and show respect for the democratic revolution in Czechoslovakia he personifies.

Attending the event were many prominent personalities of cultural, political and public life in the United States, among them writers Arthur Miller, Saul Bellow, Elie Wiesel, film directors Milos Forman and Joe Papp, actors Gregory Peck, Paul Newman, Maxmilian Schell, opera singer Placido Domingo, singers Paul Simon, Harry Belafonte and many others. Speeches were delivered by former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, journalist Barbara Walters and others.

At the close of the event Vaclav Havel thanked for the marvelous evening and voiced gratitude to all americans who have helped Czechoslovakia in its struggle for freedom.

Meets With UN's Perez de Cuellar

LD2302061990 Prague CTK in English 2249 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] New York Feb 22 (CTK Correspondent]—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel and U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar exchanged here today their views on the role of the United Nations in present international conditions and the position of Czechoslovakia in its structures.

Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier told CTK at a press conference that "according to the Czechoslovak Government, the United Nations could play an even more important role in the worlds development but mainly Czechoslovakia should play a greater role in the United Nations".

Vaclav Havel expressed gratitude to the United Nations as one of the organizations that strove for the defence of human rights in Czechoslovakia.

Asked about the future of U.S. troops in Europe, the Czechoslovak president said that he discussed it with U.S. President George Bush. "We understood each other better than many a journalists had thought", he said.

Jiri Dienstbier added that Czechoslovakia considers the presence of U.S. troops in Western Europe a stabilizing factor but in the future, the stability of Europe should not be ensured by military forces but by a new security system so that the presence of any troops on foreign territory should not be necessary.

President Havel confirmed that Czechoslovakia proposed to play a mediating role in tackling the conflict between Palestinians and Israel. Both sides welcomed it but the offer has not yet resulted in any specified shape of peace talks.

Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa assured foreign journalists that there is enough space for investing foreign capital in Czechoslovakia, and told them that Czechoslovakia asked the European Communities for granting it the status of an associated member.

Havel Returns, Gives Impressions of U.S. Trip

Objectives Realized

LD2302230690 Prague Television Service in Czech 2100 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Interview with President Vaclav Havel by unidentified Czechoslovak television correspondent on board the special presidential plane bringing Havel home from the United States on 23 February—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Mr. President, six days ago you left for a visit to Iceland, Canada, and the United States with certain ideas, certain objectives. Do you think these ideas and objectives were realized?

[Havel] I think they were more than realized. I have a very good impression of the three visits to Iceland, Canada, and the United States. I have the impression that we were received very favorably, that the response to our visit exceeded all expectations, that we covered more than we had intended to, and that many types of offers were made which we did not expect. Only time will tell if this impression is correct, but for the time being I have the impression that it was a really important visit, that it was not a wasted week.

[Correspondent] The reception was seen not only by me but by a whole number of observers as quite extraordinary. Do you think that the moral support you received will be enough to insure that Czechoslovakia reaches the kind of economic and social level you expect?

[Havel] Well, experience shows that whenever a country somehow enters the consciousness of a given society, a given country, and when personal contacts are forged at the highest level, this automatically has the result of producing various offers and possibilities for economic and cultural cooperation. We several times pointed out

the areas in which we would most appreciate certain offers, and since we repeated all this several times no doubt it will stick in people's minds and be translated into specific deeds and a genuine revitalization of cooperation with the United States. For example, it was quite a surprise for us that President Bush signed the exclusion to the Jackson-Vanik Amendment which made it possible to allow trade concessions. Some other things we discussed with him were also very important, I think, and soon will be translated into specifics.

The experts consider it particularly important that President Bush invited me for another meeting because this is the exception rather than the rule. On the first day, we had the normal official visit, which lasted two-and-one-half or three hours, I think. Then, the second day was given over to Congress, but that exceptional invitation on the afternoon of the second day is seen by the pundits as an exceptionally important political signal.

Hosts News Conference

LD2302181490 Prague Television Service in Czech 1450 GMT 23 Feb 90

[News conference by President Vaclav Havel in Prague on 23 February following his return from overseas tour—live]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Preucil] Mr. Preucil from INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS journal. Mr. President, can you tell us more about what you said in the Old Town Square a few moments ago about your role as a kind of messenger between Washington and Moscow, something more specific about that role?

[Havel] I do not want to talk too much in detail about this, because we have yet to go to Moscow, and it would be appropriate to summarize this somehow or other when we get back from Moscow. These are things concerning the future of Europe, economic cooperation, the military situation in Europe—a whole package of interrelated things, and part of this package, of course, is the rather important issue for us of the departure of Soviet troops from our country, and I have the impression that our mission to Moscow will end well. I would like to stress that I was not alone in the United States even though I was the center of attention, for people on the street who did not know me greeted me just as in Prague. I was not alone, as our delegation was quite a big one; in addition to the premier and ministers, it included rectors of universities, representatives of the students union, a number of my colleagues from the castle, advisers, and members of the collegium, each of whom had a very eventful and busy program, so we often divided up into various groups that had their own different talks. But now I have strayed from the point. To get back to the question, I would not like to talk too much about this at the moment.

[Lukas] Edward Lukas from the INDEPENDENT. Could you be a bit more specific about what exactly you decided and what you discussed with President Bush, as the United States appears to be fascinated by the situation here but does not know specifically what is going on?

[Havel] Naturally we talked about the future European makeup and in the Congress I gave a general outline about how we envisage this process taking place, that the unifying European processes should be speeded up, that the Helsinki process should be turned into what would be the equivalent of a peaceful conference. As is well known, this has not yet taken place since World War II; it would definitively fix the European frontiers and would lay down the foundation to Europe as a kind of a united body with its own new security system. I proposed that what is called the Second Helsinki Conference, planned for 1992, be brought forward and that that conference be turned into what I have been talking about. Such a conference would confirm with difinitive validity the frontiers in Europe and at the same time in some sort of way within a Europe-wide context it would put an official stamp on a united democratic Germany, thus legalizing it. We also talked a great deal about this matter's security aspect—that is, about the future of the Warsaw Pact and, above all, about the future of NATO, about the presence of U.S. units in Europe, problems connected with the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Europe, and more of this broad but nonetheless very important subject.

However, we also talked about other matters. For instance, we talked about an agreement between the federal Ministry of the Interior and U.S. security forces and the like. And perhaps, also important was the fact that President Bush announced during the first 10 or 15 minutes of the first talks I had with him that he had just signed a document in which the United States excluded Czechoslovakia from the Jackson-Vanik Act, that it made an exception, which makes it possible for a trade agreement with the United States to be signed quickly. This is rather important and in turn will pave the way to granting us most favored nation status, which we would like to acquire by the time our elections are held and which we would like to acquire permanently so that our status does not have to be examined each year.

[(Schultz)] I am Milan (Schultz) from Radio Free Europe. I knew the views of the Czechoslovak president even before he was president, having listened to foreign radio stations broadcasting in Czech and Slovak. I would like to know whether during your visit you have found out the U.S. officials' view on these broadcasts—on whether it could be found out at all?

[Havel] I did not ask their views and they did not speak about them, but I spoke to Congress about this topic. In my talks with the Foreign Relations Committee and also with President Bush I said that this radio station, which is funded from the Congressional budget, is still important. With Central Europe's changes, our own media are free, but with a certain change in its concept Radio Free Europe could still fulfill an important role and a number

of tasks which our media cannot. Therefore, I put in a word against taking money from you and rather, in favor of giving you more. I handed over a document which I received from Radio Free Europe in which they explain the new future concept of this radio station with regard to social changes in the part of Europe into which it broadcasts. My interlocutors nodded with interest and took the document. We went to the Voice of America and we were very cordially received there. [passage omitted]

With regard to Voice of America, a similar thing applies to what I have said about Radio Free Europe. We thanked them for the work which they carried out for years, that they broadcast truthful information at a time when that was not possible on our media. We also emphasized that today, when it is possible for our media, these radio stations are still useful and that there are certain tasks which they could fulfill, if they mobilized themselves in a certain way, tasks which could not be carried out by our media.

[RUDE PRAVO correspondent] [name indistinct] of RUDE PRAVO. Mr President, how did U.S. President Bush react to your idea on the prospective withdrawal of U.S. troops from Europe? This is my first question. The second question is: What did you talk about with Mr Brzezinski?

[Havel] We had a very friendly talk. He has a very close relation to our country because his wife is Czech. She is a great-niece of President Benes. He knew me well from my work and my books. It was a very friendly talk: He spoke in Polish, I in Czech. With regard to the U.S. troop withdrawal from Europe, the U.S. press—as happens in the press, particularly the popular press—was threatening that Havel wants to abolish NATO and throw the Americans out of Europe and so on, and in this way it created a nervous atmosphere. I stressed a number of times that at the moment the West European security system, including the presence of U.S. troops, is a sort of guarantee of a stability in Europe, which otherwise is a bit uncertain. Nevertheless, it is not likely that this will be the case forever and maybe it will not take long, and with the pan-European changes and the creation of the new security system all this will probably change. It does not mean that the new security system would not have its links in the Helsinki area: It means with the United States, Canada, and the USSR. [passage omitted]

[Vejvoda] I am Vejvoda, from Czechoslovak radio, and my question is to the foreign minister. Since Cuba is close to the United States, the Americans are naturally interested to know whether we are going to continue to represent Cuba through our embassy in the United States. Since our approaches are now so different, and since you and the president said that you have a lot of problems and that you would probably get round to this one later on, do you have any idea when, and how you might solve it?

[Foreign Minister Dienstbier] So far this is still one of the things we will have to deal with, but in any case [words indistinct].

[Havel] Here I would like to say something, even without being asked, that I forgot to say both in the Old Town Square and here, and that is that in our immensely eventful and varied program in the United States, dashing about from one place to the next and making speech after speech, I forgot to say that the program also included a visit to the United Nations. The premier, the foreign minister, and I were received by the UN secretary general, and then we had a news conference in the United Nations—they have them all the time in the United States. There is always a crowd of journalists around you, and our visit there was something like a nonstop news conference, and you really have to chase them away. Anyway, we had very meaningful talks there, and we told the secretary general that we wanted to invigorate our involvement in the work of the United Nations, and I offered him one of the palaces in Prague as a kind of UN research center or office. [passage omitted] He showed interest and thanked us for the offer, but he showed even greater interest in organizing international UN conferences in Prague, and I told him that we have at our disposal a kind of monumental monstrosity of a building that could perhaps be offered for this purpose.

[Meisner, in English, with superimposed Czech translation] I am Mr Meisner. Mr president, could you tell us about the problems concerning the withdrawal of the Soviet troops following the agreement signed in Prague, and whether there is a final date.

[Havel] As far as I know, the agreement has only been initialled as yet by the two commissions which drafted it, and it has yet to be signed, and the day on which the first soldier leaves, the day on which the last soldier leaves, and the timeframe for the departure of those units, for the withdrawal of the combat equipment, and for the families to be moved out—all this will be made public in valid and definitive details once the agreement is signed. As yet it has only been initialled. [passage omitted]

Achieved 'More Than We Expected'

LD2302161490 Prague Television Service in Czech 1410 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Speech by President Vaclav Havel at a rally in Old Town Square in Prague, following his return from the United States—live]

[Text] Esteemed friends, I would like to inform you that we have just returned from the United States. [applause]

We have been in Reykjavik, then in Canada for two days, then in the United States for three days. I would like to assure you that we did not go there to rest, or to look at the sea or the skyscrapers. We went there to work, and I think that we achieved there much more than we had expected. [applause] Two days in Washington and a

day in New York were enough to make Czechoslovakia—without exaggeration—the most popular country in the United States today. [chanting-"Long Live Havel"]

Somewhere in New York, I saw a slogan "Havel to White House." I thought about it and I decided that one small country in the state of slight confusion is enough for me and that it would be too great a mouthful.

As has been shown, President Bush is definitely not a Dr Dryasdust. He is a kind man with whom we spoke for about three and one-half hours about various things and then he invited me a second day, and this is said to be unprecedented and unusual. [applause]

I also made a speech to the U.S. Congress [applause]: Various political experts have said that they did not remember a speech that was so kindly received there. Their judgment was based on the strength of applause, the number of times the congressmen stood up, and similar factors.

Many congressmen asked me how many experts and how many weeks it took to write my speech. I said that I wrote it myself and that it took me two hours. [applause] My advisers warned that I should not be saying such things because I would not look professional. [Havel laughs]

We took part in a debate in the Foreign Affairs Committee of Congress, visited numerous institutions, went to universities; our time was calculated in minutes. About fifty strong men from the FBI guarded us at all times. I had a meeting with Mr. Premier and minister of state in a society in New York and it is said that its members are the two thousand most clever people in the United States. We had a debate with them. I was received by the mayor of New York. We met a number of famous artists, actors which you have known for years from the cinema screens, and last night, among other points on our agenda, we attended a wonderful ceremony in a cathedral in New York. The television might broadcast it today, I have heard. Famous stars and excellent singers were there and the atmosphere was marvellous.

We spoke, of course, about many specific issues, above all with regard to the economy, and it seems that the visit has had good results.

We must prepare now for another visit—on Monday morning we are leaving for the Kremlin. [applause]

It is by chance that I got in the position of some kind of a special messenger boy between two important houses—the White House and the Kremlin. [applause]

Our meeting in Toronto with representatives of the most important organizations of our fellow countrymen and of exiles was very important. There we read a message to all the Czechs and Slovaks living all over the world and explained the new attitude of their motherland. [applause]

A great number of Americans are offering various kind of aid to Czechoslovakia, each of them speaks about various millions and billions. We must closely examine all these offers, and think them through, because we must be careful of being robbed by someone. [applause] At least I am sure that I am not going to sell the Prague Castle to anyone. [laughter]

In the United States, there is the post of vice president. He is Mr. Quayle and he is, in fact, a deputy president. I had a friendly visit with Mr. Quayle, and above all, I became a friend of Edward Kennedy, with Mr. Brzezinski and Kissinger, and other well-known people. [applause and laughter] And I have not mentioned such well-known people as Paul Newman and Dizzy Gillespie and so on. I did speak about the vice president because I used to jokingly call my adviser Milan Knazko, Vice President. [applause]

And I mentioned it because I want to give the floor to him now to let his beautiful mother tongue be heard here, and because I am already in a hurry to go elsewhere. Ahoy!

Havel Addresses 'Anti-February' Rally

LD2502205390 Prague CTK in English 1900 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 25 (CTK)—The Central Council of the Czechoslovak National Socialist Youth, the Coordinating Committee of Prague Higher Learning Institutions, and other organizations co-sponsored a big demonstration here today which can be characterized as strongly "anti-February".

Chairman of the Central Council of the Czechoslovak National Socialist Youth Ales Vebr recalled the historical march of National Socialist Students on Prague Castle on February 25, 1948 in support of President Eduard Benes in the struggle against the Communist reactionaries. The demonstrators were, however, detained by the emergency police unit, Ales Vebr said.

Former deputy of the Constitutional national Assembly of Czechoslovakia, representative of the national Socialist Party Ota Hora, who has been living in Canada for 42 years, said that his sole goal in exile had been to strive for a free Czechoslovakia.

In conclusion of the rally, chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party Jan Skoda stressed that further developments in Czechoslovakia require especially patience and a democratic attitude to the solution of all problems.

After the rally in Wenceslas Square, thousands of people started to march along the historical route followed by the students on February 25, 1948.

When they reached the third courtyard of Prague Castle it was already full of people so that the marchers had to try hard to get there.

The crowd was addressed from a balcony by Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel who recalled that 42 years ago the demonstrators headed for Prague Castle to protest against surrender to the pressure of Communists. In this connection he said that he will never sign any document of surrender.

Vaclav Havel added that he was now, together with ministers and his advisors, preparing talks they will wage in Moscow tomorrow. They are going there not to sign any surrender, but on the contrary, to seek ways of how to eliminate the consequences of the surrender twenty years ago.

Havel Insists on 'Truth' in Prague Address

LD2502200290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1325 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Speech by President Vaclav Havel at Staromestske Square rally in Prague commemorating Jan Zajic's self-immolation in 1948—live]

[Text] Esteemed friends, when, exactly 42 years ago, my predecessor—of whom we truly cannot be too proud—came out on this balcony and announced to your fathers and grandfathers that a putsch had just succeeded. [shouts of derision] He called this putsch, and we were taught this up to very recently, a glorious victory of the working people over reaction. I have a pleasant duty to announce to you from the very same place, that the truth can once again be told about our modern history, without fear of punishment. [applause] This is why no one will arrest me if I tell the truth. [applause] That was a putsch and no glorious victory of the working people over reaction. [applause] The very opposite is true. That was an inglorious victory of reaction over the working people.

The fact that a rather large section of our citizens believed that lie and thought that the rape of democracy was a necessary step toward a socially just world changes nothing in this truth, not even the fact that some of them believed that they had to carry a rifle on their shoulders and wage witch hunts against various sections of their fellow citizens, because a pure goal sanctifies the use of dirty means. [applause] If anyone of them began to doubt this pernicious idea, he was crushed by the millstones which he helped naively to set in motion, or he was forced to his knees by the dialectic explanation that if the mills are finally to mill flour for everyone they must first mill several thousands of millers and several tens of thousands of millers' mates who up to then had been milling flour allegedly only for themselves. [applause]

The larger section of our two nations was raped while the smaller one had been deceived. And like in every country which finds itself in such a situation, enough criminals were found in our country, who were willing, draped in the clothing of noble ideals, to coldbloodedly torture people, murder them, and scatter their ashes on frozen roads. [applause] We must not forget anyone who was tortured, died a martyr's death, and was executed. We must not forget anyone of those who managed to defy the totalitarian regime. Neither must we however forget anyone of those who tortured and murdered those I just mentioned. [applause]

Unless historical truth and justice is given its due passage, the long-term sick soul of our nations will not regain its health. At the same time we must not scorn those who believed the treacherous official lie while they themselves did not consciously commit any act of cruelty, who worked honestly and did not notice that the edifice they were building had rotten foundations.

One of the most beautiful traits of human nature is the ability to forgive, and if we succeed in forgiving our jailers then we should also be able to learn even more to forgive those of our fellow prisoners who were not compressed behind the steel bars of labor camps but behind the devilishly deceptive bars of the dialectical ideology. After all, who would not long for a world in which there would not be masters and slaves, exploiters and those who are exploited? Who would not dream of a world in which there would not be a pampered son of a factory owner insulting his servant? Who would not long for a world in which workers would have an influence on the management of their factory? And when people are offered these beautiful ideals and when the nasty means which would allegedly bring us closer to these ideals are explained in a scientifically subtle way, then no wonder that some swallowed the bait. [applause]

Science does not have conscience. Although it is beautiful and important it is a great product of the history of human intellect; but human spirit is not a matter of human intellect alone, for it is also deliberation and forethought, as well as conscience and decency and taste, and love for one's neighbor and responsibility, and courage and detachment from oneself, as well as doubt and even humor. Had Marx not been a vain man, full of rage, [applause] but a peaceloving and merry man, perhaps his scientific discoveries would not have been so easily misused against mankind and against the very essence of life. [applause]

I am not a historian, and the Old Town Square is not a lecture room of the Charles University. To seek the truth about our modern history is the task of a free debate among historians. I only mentioned February of 1948 because despite the fact that its an historical event now, it nonetheless concerns us. The fact is that what is coming to a close and what is called a totalitarian system began at that time. [applause] And we are facing an urgent task to come to grips with the unenviable legacy that this system has left us, which is the subject I would like to devote myself to chiefly.

What kind of legacy have we therefore inherited? Very sad. It borders on incredulity how much can be achieved in a mere 42 years. Our air cannot be breathed; our water is undrinkable; defective babies are born because their parents breath sulphur instead of oxygen and drink oil with chlorine instead of water.

We destroyed, or let decay our beautiful towns and villages, this briliant cultural legacy of dozens of generations. Instead of them we have covered our homeland with some kind of rabbit warrens in which one cannot live but merely spend the night, or watch television serials. [applause] Our forests are dying. Tens of thousands of people are working only to avoid being worse off. The largest engineering enterprises do not produce money but debts. Farmers work hard and therefore we still have enough to eat, but at what price? The price is that food, too, is subsidized from the state budget, and that in several decades our soil is not going to produce anything.

Our obsolete economy is at the top of the league of those countries which waste energy unnecessarily. At the same time we are building revolting megalomaniacal power plants, whose task is to destroy nature while supplying energy to failing gigantic industrial enterprises. [applause]

Our money is not money because we cannot buy anthing with it one kilometer behind the Sumava [border area with the West] range. [applause] The majority of our hospitals cannot discharge their mission properly and thousands of our excellent doctors spend half a day filling papers which no one reads. [applause] A million people do work who serve no purpose, while another million are not available to provide staff for say five various small shops in every street with each selling something nobody else has. [applause] Our students do not travel each summer throughout Europe, as is customary elsewhere, and therefore they do not know languages, and at school they do not learn who shakespeare was because they have to learn that Communism is the peak of world's history. [applause]

In television you cannot choose from 10 independent, of each other, channels of various program orientations, but instead you can enjoy the fact that Czechoslovak Television probably holds the world record for the number of employees per number of hours broadcast. [applause] Those who inform you truthfully on television, and who ennoble you artistically, form a tiny minority. Why these others are there and what else they are doing but watching each other and enriching themselves no one knows. [applause]

I do not want to claim that nothing good has been built and that nothing works. We have, for example, a Metro which operates well, and the stupidly named stations of which I hope will soon be renamed by someone. [applause]

However, daily tens of thousands of people travel by this Metro from the Jizni Mesto [south city housing estate] to another city and can see a real city here and there and not only the oddity in which they themselves live [applause]—and so on and so on—there is a lot to say. But the worst is what has happened to our soul. Only with difficulty are we discovering in ourselves the ability to be kind to each other, to help each other selflessly, to care for our weaker fellow citizens. Toward members of nations or ethnic groups who live in our country we behave as few white men behave toward their black fellow citizens, who until only recently were his slaves. [applause]

Our two nations have lost their self-confidence and thanks to this they started to view each other with a certain hostility. Many Slovaks consider Czechs to be their colonizers, and many Czechs consider Slovaks to be a kind of an appendix which only complicates life for them. [applause] All this is very sad indeed and it will not be put right tomorrow or the day after. It will take years and it will cost many self-denials. But there is no other way. The self-denial will be the punishment for our long years of indifference toward what was taking place in our country and for our passive participation in this destructive work. [applause]

We have publicly commemorated the martyr's death of priest Toufar and the warning sacrifice of Jan Zajic. Let those two, just like thousands of others—from Milada Horakova to Jan Palach, to the tragic figure of Rudolf Slansky, to the hero of law, Pavel Wonka—remind us always that we ourselves, and not always with honor, managed to survive this great work of destruction and that it is our turn now to do something good for our country and sacrifice something to this work. [applause]

Dear friends, as is obvious, our inheritance is indeed joyless. First of all it seemed that the pressure of the public would make the Communist Party—as is the case in some of our neighboring countries—change its leadership, recover from its decline and, in cooperation with others, start putting right all that has been ruined in its name. However, history has overtaken us and thanks to this it is overwhelmingly down to us, who are not Communists and in the majority of cases have never been Communists, to undertake the task of correcting it. [applause]

Excluding a few exceptional cases, we have never held any political posts. Nevertheless, our policymaking has to be a thousand times better and more professional than was undertaken by those in whose places we occupy now and who had devoted all their lives to it—providing that we dare to call what they did policymaking. [applause]

This is not, as you certainly understand, an easy task. Everybody wishes that we could solve in a week thousands of problems which over long decades have grown enormously. Of course this is not possible. Nevertheless, this does not mean that we have enough time to do all these things. In no way have we surplus time. In other words: We have to be wisely level-headed, but at the same time we have to act very quickly.

If somebody among us cannot cope with this, he should immediately vacate his post, to make it available for somebody else so that the continuity of work in his office or enterprise is not disrupted. If somebody is going to feel offended [applause] among those who will be asked to leave their posts, or if he is going to suffer from having

a chip on his shoulder, he will in this way show that his positon is more precious to him than our country's interest and therefore that he is not suitable to hold any kind of office at all. [applause] Of course, nothing will happen to such a person—he will only have to earn his living like any other citizen. [applause]

I can personally promise you that I will resign the moment when it is suggested to me that I cannot cope with my work, or when I myself become aware of it. [people shout: "No!"]

I know about another rather good, and certainly less exhausting, way to help my country. I do not wish to put myself forward as an example, but at least in this one and only thing I would like to call on everyone to assume the same attitude toward holding posts as I have. It is really not a good time now to follow personal ambitions.

Nevertheless, the contrary is also true: If there is an agreement of views that some post should be held by somebody who does not wish to hold any post, I beg him, urgently, to conquer his feelings and in the interests of all to accept the post, at least for sometime. [applause] I also presume to put myself forward as an example in this case. [applause]

Speaking about the atmosphere of national understanding, we mean above all that we do not fight for posts, but accept them or give them up in a friendly manner, led by the common will to quickly rid ourselves of all the appalling things which we inherited from the former regime, and for which we also, to a certain degree after all, are responsible—if only by keeping silent about them for so long despite being well aware of them. [applause]

Soon after the November students' massacre Civic Forum was born in the Czech lands, and in Slovakia it was the Public Against Violence. Both movements have very rapidly become the most important political forces in the country because they have assumed the role of spokesmen for the public's true interests. These movements have elevated us to high posts. As everyone knows, Civic Forum and Public Against Violence are not without problems. Their centers suffer constantly from well-tested leaders being moved to state posts, their various local branches, on the other hand, often suffer from the influx of various ambitious people. In the case of such a mass, and such a spontaneous movement, all these ills are more than natural. And nothing changes the fact that at least until the elections and most probably even after them, both these initiatives are the main guarantee of a peaceful transition to a true political plurality, democracy and freedom. [applause]

A guarantee for all—that is, also for all communists who want to participate in the building of a democratic and prosperous Czechoslovakia. Civic Forum and Public Against Violence do not wish to inherit the leading role from the Communist Party, they are only working so that those people who in a democracy truly should have the leading role—really, and not on paper only—the working people, do in fact have it. [applause]

Much is being said, and rightly so at present, about the election bill. The draft which has been submitted to the Federal Assembly and which this Assembly—if we are to have free elections on 8 June—should approve next week is, of course, not the best one. Nevertheless, out of all the possible election bills it is currently most appropriate. In a society which has little structure politically, it is good to give strong chances both to the existing and newly born political parties, because precisely in them are concentrated truly political, global-thinking people. The proposed election bill does, after all, contain enough safeguards against an apparatus of parties having a greater influence than the citizens' will. [applause]

If this bill, from all the bad ones, is the best one at present this does not, of course, mean that it is the best forever. I firmly believe and hope that the Federal Assembly will equip it with an addendum by which it will guarantee legally that the newly elected representative bodies only have a two-year mandate—that is, a shorter mandate than envisaged for the future—and that it will call the newly elected assemblies legislative in order to clearly define their main and most important task. [applause] To draft and to approve new democratic constitutions for our two national republics and our federation, constitutions which would not have to be changed, and if so, then only by the most necessary constitutional amendments such as, for example, one which would confirm the eventual future entry of Czechoslovakia into some kind of a broader all-European union. [applause]

In two years' time, when the true political plurality takes shape in our country, when the last remnants of revolutionary chaos disappear, when people learn to think and act truly democratically, when new and more natural territorial divisions of the country take place and when the new constitutions come into force—which, among other things, will anchor a more practical and more humble structure of the hitherto outsize legislative bodies—the time will be ripe for new elections. They could take place according to another election bill—one which would correspond to the new Constitution and which would give much greater chances to individual personalities. [applause]

So far we have not been able to see who is who, and who can do what. In two years' time we shall know this quite well. Maybe, even then, not much will change in the composition of the parliament and the government, or maybe a lot will change. In either case, I think that it will be a good thing to repeat the elections in two years time. [applause] It will do no harm to anyone to watch carefully for two years the elected and nonelected people, and then to spend one hour of his free time to go to the ballot box again and thus show what he learned in those two years. Our country's experiences do indeed show that in the case of a newly born democracy, after a period of such a length, it becomes clear whether the newly born

democracy is good or not. Let us recall the hard years 1921 and 1948. I do not doubt the fact that our democracy will pass the test of time and will win. But I do, however, recommend checking it after two years, just to make sure. [applause]

When talking about the Federal Assembly there is one thing I would like to say about its address: We live in a peculiar and parodoxical time. We are building a legal state, so to speak, in a revolutionary way. Due to this an emphasis on the law is impeding and frustrating the revolution time from time, while contrarily the revolutionary nature of things flouts the law from time to time. Regrettably, this cannot be otherwise. This paradox can be detected not only in all the ongoing attempts to throw off the shackles of totalitarianism, but in the transition to democracy from a classical authoritarian dictatorship. The only possible way to to deal with this paradox without damaging the nation's health too much is to work intensively and quickly. I do not understand at all why our parliament should not be in a permanent session in order to be able to draft in good time the piles of bills now being planned.

It is said that this is so because deputies are having to go to work. Could we not collect money among ourselves to give them a properly paid holiday? [applause] The few millions of korunas this would cost us would return to us richly, and soon, with the greatest imaginable interest. [applause] For reasons which are still not clear to me the Federal Assembly has not, up to now, taken a decision on my proposal to drop from the title of our state one little word which no one wants to have there [Socialist]. [long applause] In Romania this took a single day. [laughter] For several weeks now some people have been trying to pile one heraldic nonsense on top of others—as if the emblem of the modern state was not being decided by a comprehensive political and visual discussion of experts based on a relative popular consensus, but by a body of casual advisors portraying the lion as a giraffe [laughter] and letting it dance offensively either on the head of the eagle or on the top of Slovak mountains. [applause]

In order for our state and economy to begin to function we must quickly change several dozen laws. And in this critical period we are unable to ensure that 700 deputies sit in their parliaments and work, as is the case in many normally functioning democracies, permanently and in acordance with the law. [aplause]

But that is not all, in our country there is still one of the remnants of the Middle Ages which all civilized countries long ago got rid of—that is, the death penalty—and this while we have ambitions of returning to this family. It would take 20 seconds to write the relevant amendment to the criminal law, and its approval by all our representative bodies could be managed in one day, if these bodies were operationally effective and were not afraid that their employers would record absences while they pursue their legislative activity. [applause]

Our federal government is in an even stranger position. It is in existence for a few weeks; all its members work from morning to midnight; and at the same time it is being criticized because it has still not reformed the whole economy and has still not flooded the Federal Assembly with those dozens of new laws which must be adopted. To make the transition without social upheaval, without unemployment, rising prices and inflation from a totalitarian antieconomy which had been under construction for 40 years, to an economy which functions in a normal way is truly not an easy task. All economists in the government know that we are faced with a task which is unprecedented in history. They all know about the series of well-thought out and linked steps which this gigantic task must be led through. They simply spent a little time discussing the timetable for these operations and already they are being shouted at by all and sundry that they are not doing aything. It is absurd. But I would like to say to all those who are panicking that already next week the first package of economic laws will be put forward by the government to the Federal Assembly. [applause]

Now the only thing of concern is whether the employer will release deputies from their workplace so that they can evaluate these laws comprehensively, amend them, and approve them as soon as possible. [applause]

So that it is easier for them, the day after tomorrow, Mr. Premier Calfa will deliver a substantial analysis of our economy, which the government was able to undertake with miraculous speed. [applause] I say miraculous because our economy is, among other things, one great big secret. For many years all its internal connections were hideously tangled up and for many years no one knew, and no one could even say, what this tangle actually looks like. The national governments are preparing similar analyses.

I criticized the Federal Assembly and praised the federal government and for this reason, in the interests of fairness, I must also praise the Federal Assembly for something, and criticize the government about something. I praise the Federal Assembly for the following—that despite the fact that we inherited it from the old regime it understood the new age, it was able to renew itself quickly, and it began to behave like a real parliament in its sessions which were directly broadcast on television. [applause]

I criticize the government because it often allows itself to be so busy with the preparation for reforms that it almost does not have enough time to govern—thanks to which the motor for our economy is slowing down considerably, as if it knew that it will soon arrive at the garage where it will undergo a general overhaul and says to itself that there is no point in going when it will be repaired anyway. But after all, it must go forward. If it stopped it would never arrive at the desired garage, and after a few weeks of standing still there would be an end to everything—both the hope of repair and the present snails pace, thanks to which we are still not starving to death.

But even this criticism of mine of the government will soon be out of date. In his report Premier Calfa will propose to the Federal Assembly a qualified stabilization program for this transitionary period, and soon he will also put forward the relevant new state budget.

Now I am criticizing all and you will rightly say: And what about the president—is he perfect? [people laughing and shouting: "Yes"] Of course, he is not perfect. [people shouting: "He is"] Moreover, because he has very little experience of being president, and he has nothing to follow because his predecessors did not perform as presidents but only attended Party meetings. [applause]

I am flying from one place to another, keeping several of my good friends busy 24 hours a day, and despite this I am unable to get anything done. I am well aware of this and I attempt to give some purposeful order to my office and work program, so that we all at the Castle will not suffer a breakdown. This work will be done by the end of the week and then I will take a first week of leave with a clear conscience. [applause] Therefore, if you are not going to see me for a week on television it will not mean that I was overthrown by a putschist. [applause]

Dear fellow citizens, [Havel's speech is interrupted by a call for an ambulance for somebody from among the audience]

Dear fellow citizens, summing up briefly the task that I see the government, our parliament and myself faced with, I would say that all of us have to become total professionals immediately. However, this is not a task only for those of us who were elevated by history—possibly just for a short while because we are only on trial—to the supreme state offices. This is a task for all of us, for this country's citizens. All of us have to become total professionals immediately. The totalitarian system has fallen and its structures—if they still exist at all—are in the service of new times, or are paralyzed to such an extent that they cannot achieve anything more than mud stirring. [applause]

This is good and we can put a big period to this thing today when we remember the beginning of that system. [applause]

Nevertheless, we should also put a period to the somehow chaotic and rather amateurish merry-making with which we have celebrated this victory of freedom. I am of course not opposed to such nice gatherings as the one today; I am not opposed to folk singers singing everywhere. On the contrary, they should sing even more and for a change make fun of those of us who rule so that we do not become too proud and too serious. [applause]

I am not even opposed to forming, let us say, 200 new parties. This also is a part of the thing. There was only one party in our country for so long that we can now allow ourselves to have 200 of them for a few months.

Neither am I opposed to newspapers writing all kinds of rubbish. This is just a very small price to pay for the great gift of freedom of speech. It is just pity that they do not always manage to fulfill this freedom with more responsibility to their readers.

There is only one thing which I recommend and that is that beside the joyful intoxication of all of this, the joy of how everybody can now quarrel with everybody else, and the idle worries about all uncertainties with which rumor mongers are trying to frighten us, we shall still find time to work properly and truly professionally. [applause] At least in such a way as those previously mentioned songsters, who manage to bring into this era—which is full of ebullient but disorganized persons, astonished looking pessimists, suddenly woken-up ambitious persons and amateur-like all-important zealots—irony, merriment, detachment, tenderness, spirituality, and an atmosphere of friendly toleration. [applause]

This message of love and joy was brought to us in a totally different and an immensely more secret form by the Dalai Lama, and we expect the self-same message from John Paul II—this great spirit of our century, who will come to our country a week after Easter—that is, during the most beautiful moments in the Christian calendar, at the end of a joyful week. [applause]

Winston Churchill said at one time that he could not promise Englishmen anything else but blood and sweat. I can promise you more. Although sweat will be shed, blood will not. [applause] Although those before me were also saying that you were shedding sweat, in their mouths this, however, meant something different: Sweat was to have been shed in vain. Now it will not be shed in vain. It will drive the turbine generating freedom and prosperity. [applause]

Yesterday morning, after a lapse of time, I was reading RUDE PRAVO. I must say that I quite liked it. It has decidedly improved from the time when I was studying it in great detail in prison, as my sole source of information about the world. While reading it yesterday I noticed one thing. Out of thousands of reactions to our recent visit to the United States, RUDE PRAVO chose one which said that someone had said privately that I am a nice, romantic and naive dreamer, rather than a true statesman. After reading it I reflected about myself. Of course, whether I am nice I do not know. Others must judge this. Otherwise, that unnamed person who had been judging me was right. I probably am really a dreamer. I probably am a bit naive and romantic, especially if one understands by this word that I always bank on good human traits and have truly never regarded myself as a statesman. Nonetheless, I would like to assure you of one thing: Whatever dreamer I may be, I am decidedly not such a foolish dreamer as those who hope that they will return tyranny to our country through some kind of a new February. [applause] Perhaps you will not believe me but I am truly not afraid of anyone, and I am least afraid of the friends of the old order. [applause]

We have not had freedom for a long time yet but if anyone should want to take it away from us again—I guarantee you that this time we shall defend it. [applause] We cannot make excuses forever, that there are fewer of us than of others—anyone who thinks this has lost the battle before it begins. After all, we have a better weapon than what could have been developed by all the world's arms developers. This weapon is the knowledge that truth and right are on our side. [applause]

If it seems to anyone that this is yet another dreamer's illusion, I remind him that he who has this weapon is not afraid of even the latest machine gun. However, a cellar full of machine guns is no good to a coward. [applause] It is not accidental that our first president used to say: The truth will prevail, and also: Not to be afraid, and not to steal. [applause] If we learn not to be afraid and not to steal then everything will end well. [applause] We shall not live to see paradise on earth, however, but a more dignified and peaceful life—yes! [applause]

Dear friends, from socialist realism paintings and poems we do know that toward the end of February 1948 the weather in Prague was bleak, and icy snow was stinging citizens' faces. Today the sun is shining! Thank you for your attention. [applause]

Gorbachev, Havel To Renew 'Friendly Relations'

LD2402213490 Moscow Television in Russian 1800 GMT 24 Feb 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] To renew friendly relations between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, to eliminate barriers and to restore strong ties between the peoples of the two countries: This is the main aim of the forthcoming visit to Moscow by CSSR President Vaclav Havel. This thought was expressed today in a conversation between a group of Soviet journalists and Czechoslovakia's foreign minister. The program for the visit to Moscow is a working one, many matters and specific issues are due to be resolved.

A meeting between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Vaclav Havel will take place on 26 February.

President, Delegation Embark on Moscow Trip

LD2602071990 Prague CTK in English 0637 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 26 (CTK)—President Vaclav Havel of Czechoslovakia left here today for a two-day visit to Moscow at the invitation of Soviet President and CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev.

President Havel is accompanied by Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier, Deputy Premier and Chairman of the State Planning Commission Vladimir Dlouhy, Interior Minister Richard Sacher and Defence Minister Miroslav Vacek.

The visit, the Czechoslovak president's second within a short space of time after his trip to the USA last week, is expected to contribute towards a new peaceful set-up in Europe. Vaclav Havel will meet, apart from Mr Gorbachev, representatives of Soviet culture and the public.

Soviet Official Optimistic About Visit

LD2302164990 Prague CTK in English 1447 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] Moscow Feb 23 (CTK)—"We will welcome Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel in the Soviet Union with the feeling of friendship towards the peoples of Czechoslovakia with whom we are linked by long-standing relations of good neighbours and mutual understanding," Supreme Soviet of the USSR First Deputy Chairman Anatoliy Lukyanov told CTK here today.

He added that if the visit takes place on this basis it will certainly be successful.

Vaclav Havel starts his visit to the Soviet Union on Monday [26 February]. It will include talks on all questions important for the two sides. "There does not exist any sphere of our relations where good development would be impossible." Lukyanov said and pointed out the need to develop especially economic relations.

Asked about the negative aspects of the past and their influence on Czechoslovak-Soviet relations, Lukyanov said that this "burden of the past" must be removed by "looking less to the past and more to the future."

Timetable Outlined for USSR Troop Withdrawal

LD2402171290 Prague CTK in English 1627 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 24 (CTK)—The first stage of Soviet troops' departure from Czechoslovakia will end on May 31, 1990, the second at the end of this year, and the last Soviet soldiers will leave the country in 1991, but no specific date has been fixed as yet.

This was said by commander of the Central Group of Soviet Troops in Czechoslovakia Lieutenant General Eduard Vorobyov at a press conference at Milovice, central Bohemia.

A total of 73,500 troops, 1,220 tanks, 2,505 combat vehicles, 1,218 artillery weapons of an over (?100) mm calibre, 77 warplanes, 146 helicopters, and other armament and material stocks will be withdrawn from Czechoslovakia, Eduard Vorobyov said. He added that 600 families of Soviet soldiers have already returned to the Soviet Union.

In the first stage, the premises of twelve garrisons and 4,000 flats will be freed, the Soviet commander said, pointing out that since February 16, joint Czechoslovak-Soviet commissions have been working in all units of the Soviet army controlling the condition of the structures and fixing the damage caused.

It is said that the Soviet side has spent 237.9 million roubles on the building of new structures since 1968, and the Czechoslovak side 255 million roubles.

First Units Leaving East Bohemia

LD2602131890 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1200 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] The first Soviet units are leaving Czechoslovakia today. Premysl Sramek, our correspondent, has sent us the following report from the East Bohemian Region:

[Begin Sramek recording] Immediate datelines for the departure of Soviet troops concern only two districts in the East Bohemian Region—the Semily district and the Usti nad Orlici district. In both instances the withdrawal should be concluded during the first stage—that is, by 31 May. According to information from the District National Committee in Semily, it possesses an exact timetable for the withdrawal. It envisages overall eight transportations. Organizational matters will be discussed in greater detail at a meeting of the Municipal National Committee in Turnov.

A more complicated situation exists in Usti nad Orlici, where the Soviet Army has concentrated substantially larger combat resources, involving approximately 20,000 soldiers. Difficulties will, however, also arise in connection with the use of buildings. For instance, the cost for the repair of apartments that will be made vacant, along with losses in rents, will amount to 50,000 korunas. [end recording]

Journalists Inspect Soviet HQ's at Milovice

LD2402190690 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Several dozen Czechoslovak and foreign newsmen today visited the town of Milovice in Nymburk district, where the headquarters of the Central Group of Soviet Forces [CGSF] in Czechoslovakia is based. Among the newsmen was Vaclav Valek:

[Valek] About 10,000 Soviet troops and their families live in Milovice. It is a kind of town within a town where, in addition to the barracks, there are Soviet stores, schools, cultural institutions, and large housing estates. Immediately on arrival we toured the Milovice tank regiment and spoke to troops there. [passage omitted]

Col Gen Eduard Vorobyev, commander of the CGSF, gave a press conference. A lot has been said in the last few days about the actual withdrawal of the Soviet army, so I will be brief on this. [passage omitted]

The first Soviet troops to leave will be going the day after tomorrow from Frenstat pod Radhostem and Domasov.

There is some confusion, however, about the route for their departure because representatives of our Ministry of National Defense say that they will be leaving via Polish territory, but representatives of the Soviet Army deny this version.

For those among you who like statistics, the Soviet troops have a total of around 17,000 apartments at their disposal in Czechoslovakia as a whole, 7,700 of which were built at the cost of the Soviet Union, and the rest are leased from our national committees. We were also told that, last year, the Soviet army caused the death of six Czechoslovak citizens, with another five seriously injured. On the Soviet side, five troops died and a total of 18 were injured. The main cause here was road accidents.

Let us get back to Milovice, however. Reports have been circulating recently that several thousand Soviet troops have been transferred here from Olomouc. On this Col Gen Vorobyov had this to say:

[Begin Vorobyov recording, in Russian] I must report that we are not going to increase the number of troops stationed in Milovice. On the contrary, every day will work toward bringing about the departure of troops from Milovice. [end recording]

[Valek] So you can hear for yourself that this is nothing more than a rumor, because General Vorobyev said that the number of troops in Milovice is going to constantly decrease. However, in view of the fact that this is the headquarters of the Soviet army in Czechoslovakia, this garrison will be the last to be cleared, in 1991.

Further Coverage of Milovice Visit

LD2402220790 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] The total withdrawal of Soviet troops from our territory is perhaps the most frequently voiced basic condition in Czechoslovakia today for achieving real normalization of relations between Prague and Moscow. Specifically, this concerns 73,500 troops, 1,220 tanks, 2,505 infantry combat vehicles, 1,218 artillery units of over 100 mm caliber, 77 aircraft, and 146 helicopters. Along with the timetable of their withdrawal this information was given today by the Czechoslovak and foreign journalists accredited in Prague by the command of the Central Group of Soviet Forces in Milovice.

[Begin Tomanek recording] The staff of the Central Group of Soviet Forces along with its support units, including tanks and the air force, is located less than 40 km from Prague. It is Saturday morning and a normal day for the maintenance of equipment in the vehicle parking lot. A military jazz band appears somewhat absurd to us but it is allegedly the usual part of such activity of the servicemen.

Lieutenant Colonel Tsvetkov is prepared to answer any of the journalists present, of whom there are three busloads. The saying with which he reacts to the most frequently asked question of how the families of officers view their early departure from Czechoslovakia can be translated by our own saying, East-West, home is best; but not all journalists were able to supress a smile.

Private concern about the return to the Soviet Union is the subject of a polemical debate in the Army.

Out of the 1,500 personnel of the tank regiment we have met only a few servicemen. The equipment is accessible without any restriction—97 T72M tanks and 52 infantry combat vehicles. Political propaganda as we remember from our own army is more precise here and omnipresent but runs somewhat counter to the present notions about our defense.

Valeriy Miruashvili, the 20-year-old private on duty in the unit, claims that everyone views the coming withdrawal in his own way. The majority will be leaving with hope but differing views can also be found. Otherwise he confirms the viewpoint of the commander that there is calm and good organization in the unit. Asked by a British female journalist what the girls are like in Czechoslovakia he makes a negative gesture with his head as a sign that he did not have an opportunity to get to know them during his private outings, which the journalist receives by shrugging her shoulders as a sign of disbelieve. To be truthful the private does not know too much and this does not apply to our country alone.

The visit of the 11,000 strong closed township is a brief one and not all of its secrets have been disclosed to us. We have been asked here to attend a news conference.

On the basis of the agreement signed last Thursday the Soviet troop withdrawal will be completed in 1991, announced General Vorobyev, the commander of the Central Group of Soviet Forces. In a sharp exchange of views on the lightning speed in which the troops entered the country at one time and the snail-like pace of the withdrawal, he discloses above all the amount of ammunition and stockpiles of material brought in subsequently, as well as the Czechoslovak demand for timely elimination of illicit buildings and dumps and bringing the areas concerned up to an ecologically acceptable state. He says that a substantial withdrawal of Soviet units will be completed by this May. Garrisons in 12 localities will be vacated along with a proportion of apartments. The second stage is to be completed by the end of the current year and the last one is to be finished in the course of next year. All stages will be carried out without delay and will follow up on each other, stressed the general, provided however that a regular supply of transport is ensured, including the Soviet side in Chop.

He sharply rejects the argument that the troops lived in the country off Czechoslovakia. We pay 25 million korunas annually to rent military buildings, he says, 18.75 million korunas for services, 1.5 million korunas for housing, and 2.5 korunas million for damages incurred.

Insecurity is of a social nature. These people have been promised after their departure from Czechoslovakia the same quality of goods and above all housing. With the current progress of perestroyka it will not be easy to fulfill the promise. According to the general this does not concern the 73,500 strong army because the Soviet leadership has acknowledged the entry into Czechoslovakia as unlawful.

This is Milan Tomanek, Czechoslovak television, at the Soviet base in Milovice. [end recording]

Security Chief Appeals for Calm

LD2602124390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0700 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] (Major Jiri Sprusil), chief of the regional headquarters of the National Security Corps, appealed to citizens, prior to the start of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the North Moravian region which starts today, to maintain calm. He requested that citizens pay no attention to the withdrawal of troops, do not hang out slogans with provocative slogans, and do not chant such slogans. With sensible behavior the citizens can help the peaceful course of the withdrawal. Necessary security measures are not directed against citizens, but to securing the uninterrupted withdrawal of the Soviet soldiers.

CPSU Plenum Results Described as Compromise

AU1702202590 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 9 Feb 90 p 6

[V. Jancura commentary: "CPSU In a Stream of Reforms"]

[Text] It is not necessary to rush with the evaluation of the last meeting of the CPSU Central Committee. All the material is not yet published, including the principal one—the draft platform for the 28th party congress. It is known, however, that it passed without major modifications. It is true that its author and co-authors had to face a very demanding presentation of opposing views and to laboriously defend every portion of the document. The editorial council under Gorbachev's leadership was meeting for two nights. The plenum took one day longer than originally expected. Finally, only B. Yeltsin opposed the revised draft.

Among the objections heard in a lively discussion was the following one: "The platform seems to have been written by both hands at the same time." This was supposed to suggest that its authors wanted to satisfy both the radical and the conservative wings inside the party. "And what is so strange about that?" responded A. Yakovlev. "In what other way would it be possible to achieve the necessary consensus and conditions for cooperation by all the political forces?"

A. Yakovlev was particularly defending the platform against criticism from political reactionaries. "Its content is the minimum," he said, "from which we cannot take away anything more. Otherwise we will get into trouble."

From what has leaked to the public so far, it is possible to infer that the meeting accepted a compromise solution

which will not satisfy either the ultra- leftists or the ultra-rightists. But most of the party members will apparently accept it as another significant step on the road to the democratization of the party and the entire society.

Article six of the constitution is not to be entirely eliminated but to be significantly modified. The political system is heading toward pluralism, but the right to existence should be given only to those parties which are oriented toward socialism and which operate within the framework of the basic law.

One novel proposal introduces a presidential administration, with the head of state having special legal powers in the case of emergency situations. The president would also control the cabinet. Does this not smack of a return to the regime of power being vested in a single person? No, was the answer. Similar systems work successfully in some Western democracies. So far it is not clear whether the Soviet president will be chosen in direct and general elections.

Also the outcome of the discussion on the Lithuanian Communist Party was a certain compromise. The resolution condemns the conclusions of its 20th congress which led to a split in the republican party organization and supports the endeavor of the Lithuanian "communists - internationalists," but the CPSU Central Committee does not distance itself from cooperation with the Communist Party of Lithuania (independent). Such a resolution is probably calculated to appease those approximatelly 100,000 party members who are still hesitating with regard to which side to join. The Central Committee, however, confirmed at the same time its negative standpoint regarding the eventual "federalization" of the CPSU. In this connection the question of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Communist Party remains unclear. Allegedly it is the Russian Communists who are to decide.

Also the determination of the new date for the 28th CPSU Congress is the result of a compromise. There were proposals that it begin as soon as March, April, or, on the other hand, after it has been "properly" prepared, (i.e. in October). The Central Committee has finally selected the end of June through the beginning of July of this year.

Neither the demands for electing an organizing committee to prepare the congress that would not be subjected to the CPSU Central Committee, nor the demands for choosing congressional delegates in a direct and alternative manner were successful. The elections will take place at the annual conferences of the party territorial organs in the spring months. There is probably a certain intention to prevent further "local revolutions" when, under pressure from the reformist group of party members and civic initiatives, the leaderships of oblast committees are forced to resign in more and more localities of the Russian Federation and the Ukraine.

The party Central Committee self-critically admitted to having committed multiple errors and to having been under the influence of illusions, even during the period of perestroyka. This is one of the reasons why the party lags behind the revolutionary processes which it itself had introduced to society. To get at the head of the pack again, to catch a second breath, this means to undergo a complicated test of self-renewal and reformation. More specifics about the nature of this self-renewal and reformation will be suggested by the next CPSU Central Committee meeting which is supposed to discuss, in three weeks time, the draft of new party statutes. Also, it is apparent from Gorbachev's speech at the last plenary meeting that the changes in the internal mechanism of party life will not just be of a cosmetic nature. Of course, much will depend on what the members, who differ very much in their opinions, and also the public, which has been drawn into politics in an unprecedented way, have to say about the two documents. This time it will not be necessary to wait a long time for their reaction.

One thing is certain: Sensations have not yet occurred. Gorbachev did not fall as predicted by false prophets at home and abroad only a week ago. The contrary was true: In the political center Gorbachev's camp strengthened its positions. However, what will this mean on the "periphery," which itself is beginning to play a more and more important role in the political life of this country.

Soviet Destabilization, Gorbachev Prospects Viewed

LD1702123390 Prague in Czech to Europe 2230 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Editor Marcela Doleckova commentary—read by announcer]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] This warming of the climate is illustrated, among other things, by an agreement achieved with lightning speed between the Soviet Union and the United States on an asymetrical adjustment of troop numbers on the European Continent. This consequently will influence the Vienna talks, and I think that it also will bring a new quality to the meeting between U.S. President Bush and Soviet leader Gorbachev.

Nevertheless, a fundamental question emerges in this context: Will Mikhail Gorbachev still be the Soviet leader in the summer?

The U.S. weekly TIME described him as the man of the decade, and rightly so, I think. His policy made all those new developments possible. Nevertheless, it is impossible not to see that while Gorbachev is winning laurels abroad, the situation at home has been disintegrating.

The Soviet Union is being shaken by nationalistic and social disturbances, and the word disturbances is, in fact, underestimating the situation. The Soviet Union's destablization is feared not only by the Gorbachev wing, but also—or perhaps above all—by other countries.

It is impossible to exclude the possibility that an alternative Kremlin leader would be much more conservative, that he could handle the situation at home with a stronger hand, and that he also could assume new positions on the world scene.

These fears force the U.S. administration, on the one hand, to express publicly its support for Gorbachev's perestroyka, but on the other hand, they are the reason why the Pentagon insists so much on expensive military programs.

Perhaps some politicians in the East and West can see a disintegration of the Soviet Union into a number of republics as the way out. Nevertheless, the internal life of all the Soviet republics is too interlinked, including the fact that Soviet nuclear arms are not stationed in Russia, but namely in Azerbaijan. The danger that would emerge if these weapons fell under the control of unfit forces is far from threatening the Soviet Union alone.

Coup Rumors Spark Security Forces' Reinforcement

Worries Over Feb 1948 Commemoration

LD2302224890 Prague CTK in English 1650 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 23 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Minister of the Interior Richard Sacher decided to reinforce security forces on the whole Czechoslovak territory due to the concern of a part of the Czechoslovak public of a potential misuse of events to commemorate the February 1948 events.

Security forces chiefs will closely cooperate with representatives of the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence.

Due to 'Fear of Dark Forces'

LD2302224990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2135 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] Prague, Feb 23 (TANJUG)—The Czechoslovak Interior Minister Richard Sacher stepped up the public order forces in the entire territory of the country, it was announced today. The measures are elaborated as "public fear of dark forces" from the time of the toppled regime.

Rumour has it that "former officials of the secret police, in coordination with the ousted Communist Party leaders" are preparing a coup.

Despite the fact that Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel and the interior minister himself publically denied the validity of the rumours about the possibilities of an overthrow, Sacher today ordered the stepping up of the public order forces.

The troops of these units will wear red bands with the National Security Forces emblem. The units' officers will be responsible for "close cooperation" with the Civil Forum and the Public Against Violence movement.

Roundtable Talks Consider Election Law Issues

Discuss Terms of Office, Financing

LD2302224390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Report by correspondent Vaclav Klement]

[Text] Roundtable talks were held in the Federal Assembly building in Prague this afternoon attended by representatives of all main political parties and civic movements. Vaclav Klement, who attended the meeting, has compiled the following report:

[Begin Klement recording] The talks were open today to journalists. The political conference, as the talks could also be described, examined three basic issues. The participants first expressed themselves on some lively debated issues concerning the content of the election law. The first one concerned constituencies. There were to have been 12 of them but after a debate all partners in the roundtable talks agreed to proceed from the existing territorial set up of the state and maintain eight constituencies with some small adjustments.

The length of the term of office of the next parliament produced, however, a lengthier debate. Some representatives of political parties, in particular the Slovak ones, recommended three years instead of the proposed two years. The proposal proceeded from the need to enable political parties to establish themselves and to give time both to the parliament and to the government to discharge their tasks. It was also said, however, that the roundtable itself is a provisional one as the newly elected parliament will also be and that the new political structures will continue to be shaped. An agreement was reached, however, that the parliament will be elected for a two-year term, and thus the constructive attitude of all sides was demonstrated also in this instance.

Considerable attention was then centered on questions of financing the elections and political parties. Several possibilities were voiced: to use for this purpose funds which the former National Front had at its disposal; to allocate financial funds to political parties in accordance with the number of votes gained; to finance the election campaign from earnings generated by the parties' own activities; or to obtain a loan from the State Bank. In any case, political parties and civic movements should enter the elections from the same starting point, and as I also heard here, the state, too, should take care of the emerging democracy and establish an election fund. [end recording]

Campaign Ethics Debated

AU2602145790 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Feb 90 p 2

[CTK report: "Ethics and Finance"]

[Text] Prague—Suggestions arising from CSSR Federal Assembly committee discussions on the draft election law were considered at the "roundtable" of representatives of the most important political forces held in Prague 23 February. In comparison with previous "roundtable" talks, the talks held on Friday were supplemented by representatives of some of the newly evolved political parties and movements.

At the start of the meeting, Zdenek Jicinsky, Federal Assembly deputy chairman, reported that the parliamentary committees have not yet ended their talks on the draft election law as unity was not reached in determining electoral regions and the length of the term of office for the Federal Assembly and both national councils. Therefore, they will continue their talks on 26 February. After an extensive discussion on these two problems, the "roundtable" participants recommended that electoral regions remain identifiable with existing administrative regions and that the term of office for the new parliament and national councils be 24 months.

Representatives of the parties and movements also expressed their views on financing the political parties' pre-election campaign. The new political parties which have registered according to the new law on political parties may request the federal and national finance ministries to provide them with single, non-returnable sums amounting to 200,000 korunas. This would serve them as a so-called start-up fund in the pre-election campaign. However, they must submit a brief budget for this. A proposal also arose out of the talks to set up a state election fund and to possibly provide political parties with credit after their candidates have been registered. They also turned to republican governments, in cooperation with the national committees, to speedily help guarantee material and technical conditions as well as scope for the activity of individual parties during the pre-election campaign.

Participants also devoted part of the proceedings to the ethics of conduct prior to the elections. Party leaderships and their members should attempt to ensure that the specific limits, so far adhered to in political activity, are not exceeded. Therefore, an appeal was issued from the "roundtable" that political opponents do not become personal enemies, that individual parties do not interfere in pre-election assemblies and do not destroy posters, and that the political battle correspond to ethical norms. Discussions at future "roundtables" will deal with these problems and will resolve problematic cases.

The meeting's participants were also briefed on preparations to date for the law on elections to the national committees and recommended that the Institute for State Administration and the national interior ministries draft variant proposals for these elections which should take place on 23 and 24 November.

In conclusion, they expressed their views on the redistribution of newsprint and proposed that its balancing quota be distributed according to the needs of the republics (one third for the Slovak Socialist Republic and two thirds for the Czech Socialist Republic). Agreements will be reached individually about distribution within the republics; in the Czech Socialist Republic this problem will be discussed at another "roundtable" next week.

Slovak Government Sessions Debate New Legislation

Amends Business Venture Laws

AU2302131790 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 20 Feb 90 pp 1, 2

[CTK report: "Support for the Development of Individual Enterprise"]

[Text] Bratislava—The Slovak Socialist Republic Government held a session in Bratislava yesterday. It comprehensively discussed three draft laws amending business ventures.

It agreed with a draft law on state enterprise with the proviso that the point of view of the Slovak Socialist Republic Government Legislative Council and the suggestions from its discussion be utilized for the law's finalization. Fundamental demands for a new state enterprise concept under the conditions of a mixed multisector market economy are heralded in the draft. The draft envisages the establishment of three types of state enterprise—an enterprise with the founder's participation in management, an enterprise set up to satisfy publicly beneficial interests, and a self-administrative enterprise. The state's directive function toward an enterprise has been restricted; the state's role is concentrated on establishing conditions for entrepreneurial activity through the medium of legal regulations. The draft reckons with the possibility of transferring property belonging to abolished enterprises to legal (collective) and domestic or foreign physical entities (privatization) or depositing it in a joint-stock company. The government's privatization proposals have to be approved by the appropriate legislative body. According to the draft law, the founder may temporarily (up to 31 December 1990) implement necessary demonopolization, decentralization, deconcentration, and restructuring measures even without the enterprise's agreement, or rather, without the agreement of its internal organizational units.

The government agreed, with comments, to the draft law on joint stock companies according to the Slovak Socialist Government Legislative Council's point of view. The draft law envisages that, during the first phase, a joint stock company will often be started by only one founder (first and foremost, the Czechoslovak state) who

will underwrite the entire capital stock—divided into the necessary number of stocks—which either, as the only shareholder, it will keep or will sell to interested parties. One thousand korunas, or multiples of 1,000, is suggested as the lowest nominal value for the stock. The draft also makes the issue of employee stocks possible; their issue, free or at an advantageous price, should bind employees to the company and stimulate their efforts for its economic success.

It agreed to the draft law, with amendments, on individual business venture by physical entities according to the Slovak Socialist Republic Government Legislative Council's point of view and to suggestions from its discussion. The draft law amends business venture by physical entities and enables them to carry out ventures in activities which previous legal regulations reserved only for organizations. The draft does not deal with some specific activities—for example, legal services, health care services, or specialist and translating services—these will be amended by special regulations. It has been proposed to exclude some activities from business venture, activities in which the state may have a particular interest (for example, operating nationwide transportation services, archaeological research, the manufacture of alcohol and tobacco, and holding lotteries). According to the draft law, entrepreneurs may employ an unrestricted number of employees and acquire unlimited property for business needs. The draft assumes that permission is not necessary for business—it will be enough to register after fulfilling the necessary conditions. The development of private enterprise and the implementation of this draft law are conditional on the acceptance of amendments to a whole series of other legal regulations. The government set V. Lexa, chairman of the Slovak Commission for Planning and Scientific-Technical Development, the task of establishing a special commission to support the development of individual enterprise. All three laws will be discussed by the Slovak Socialist Republic Government Council for National Economic Policy and the Federal Assembly will make a decision about them.

It made note of a proposal drafted by the Slovak Statistical Office to implement the automated processing of election results to the Federal Assembly and the Slovak National Council linking up with nationwide hardware and software.

The government discussed a report on current conversion problems in enterprises belonging to the Federal Ministry of Metallurgy, Engineering, and the Electrotechnical Industry in Slovakia. It stated that reduced demands for supplies of special technology, caused by favorable military and political development in the world this year, are intensifying the economic and social difficulties faced by the appropriate enterprises in Slovakia. It set J. Markus and V. Lexa, Slovak first deputy premiers, the task of discussing the situation at the CSSR Government's Economic Council with the aim of preparing a draft of appropriate socioeconomic measures for the Federal Government.

It made note of a report on the current state of completion work being carried out in the Hydrokrak [hydrocracker unit] complex at Bratislava's Slovnaft [oil refinery]. Bringing the installation into operation this April is seriously threatened by the non-fulfillment of agreed alternative deadlines on the part of the major supplier of technology, CHEPOS Brno, and its subcontractors.

It discussed a report delivered by A. Varga, Slovak deputy premier, on the current distribution of newsprint and the possibilities for its redistribution. It made note of the Communist Party of Slovakia's [CPSL] agreement to remove the daily UJ SZO and its supplement VASARNAPI UJ SZO from its press system and to transform it into an independent daily. It also made note of a report that the CPSL has renounced publishing regional, district, and evening newspapers in Slovakia. Overall paper savings due to measures taken in the CPSL press (reducing PRAVDA's press run, its conversion to tabloid format and cutting the size of NEDELNA PRAVDA, and reducing the size and press run of NOVE SLOVO) will amount to 4,150 tonnes of paper. It welcomed the agreement on demands made by the most important political parties and movements to share newsprint and it set the chairman of the Slovak Commission for Planning and Scientific-Technical Development and the Slovak Socialist Republic industry minister the task of immediately arranging the distribution of the agreed amounts. It set the appropriate government ministers the task of dealing with other issues allowing for the parties' and movements' equal pre-election campaign (equal conditions for disseminating press through the medium of PNS [Postal Newspaper Subscription Service] and so on). It set A. Varga, Slovak deputy premier, the task of resolving the material and technical provisions—by a form of further discussion among the political parties and movements—for publishing newspapers and the issues surrounding the publication of HLAS LUDU, VYCHOD, SMER, VECERNIK, VECER, and NOVE SLOVO. It set the Slovak culture minister the task of monitoring further development in the periodical press sphere and of operatively confronting lack of constraint in its publication.

It discussed the current situation in Czechoslovak Television in Slovakia which, according to a decision made by its director general, within the framework of its reorganization, will lay off 800 employees (out of 3,700).

The Slovak Socialist Republic Government also discussed several other issues.

Reviews Media Problems

AU2402163590 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 22 Feb 90 pp 1, 2

[CTK report: "Television and Press on the Agenda"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava— At its session yesterday, the Government Presidium of the Slovak Socialist Republic

once again considered problems connected with the need to release employees of Czechoslovak Television in Slovakia.

The Government Presidium charged the ministers of culture, health and social affairs, finance, prices and wages, and justice; as well as the prosecutor general of the Slovak Socialist Republic with drawing up the necessary measures in cooperation with the management of Slovak Television and with the newly established trade union bodies, and with submitting them to a session of the Slovak Socialist Republic Government on 28 February 1990. The Government Presidium insists on the previously published standpoint of the Slovak Socialist Republic Government that laws and other generally binding legal provisions must be respected [when laying off television employees]. The Government Presidium of the Slovak Socialist Republic approved the recalling of Eugen Hanisko, doctor of social sciences, from the post of first deputy director of Czechoslovak Television in the Slovak Socialist Republic, and of Engineer Stefan Oravsky from the post of deputy director. It approved the appointment of Jozef Ruttkay to the post of first deputy director of Czechoslovak Television in Slovakia, and the appointment of Engineer Rudolf Simko to the post of deputy director.

The Government Presidium devoted considerable attention to the concept of a future daily newspaper which should reflect in a dignified way events at home and in the world, and at the same time, using adequate journalistic methods, convey to the public the implementation of the Government program and the activity of the Slovak National Council and national committees, promote the public's awareness of Slovak statehood and national consciousness within the European context, and participate in a significant revival of our ties with Slovaks living abroad. [passage omitted]

The Government Presidium adopted the principle that this new important periodical publication, called NARODNA OBRODA [National Revival], will be an independent daily of the citizens of Slovakia. The new daily's concept having been detailed, its publication will be approved by the next session of the government.

A "roundtable" to be held before the end of February 1990 will resolve with final validity the distribution of newsprint for further dailies (PRACA, SMENA, CESKOSLOVENSKY SPORT, LITERARNY TYZDENNIK, and others) as well as, with the participation of political parties and civic movements, changes in the publisher of several publications, particularly regional dailies, with the aim of meeting the needs of both new and existing political parties and organizations. The Government Presidium of the Slovak Socialist Republic will request that the CSSR Ministry of Finance carry out a speedy transfer of the PRAVDA Printing Plants from the jurisdiction of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee to the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Industry of the Slovak Socialist Republic.

In this connection the Government Presidium of the Slovak Socialist Republic voiced a sharp protest against the standpoint of the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Executive Committee and its press combine, which, even after repeated promises to speedily switch to a small format for the daily PRAVDA, have not carried out this change. [passage omitted] The Government Presidium resolutely demands, also for moral and political reasons, that the change in the format of the daily PRAVDA be carried out by 1 March 1990 at the latest.

The session of the Government Presidium of the Slovak Socialist Republic drew attention to the need to expeditiously deal with changes in the names of enterprises, schools, and cooperatives if these are unsuitable from the present point of view. It instructed the relevant ministers to carry out these changes with the participation, or on the basis of demands, of citizens, the employees of the enterprises in question, members of cooperatives, teachers, and students. [passage omitted]

The Government Presidium expressed its agreement with the proposal of Deputy Federal Premier Josef Hromadka, doctor of theology, to replace the present Klement Gottwald State Prize with the Czechoslovak State Prize as the supreme expression of appreciation for creative work in the CSSR. The National Prize of the Slovak Socialist Republic will be retained, though criteria for awarding it will be made more rigid. It approved the recalling of Engineer Vladislav Pikart from the post of deputy chairman of the Slovak Geological Office, and appointed Engineer Julius Malikovic to the post. At the same time, it recalled Emil Pastuch, LLD, from the post of deputy chairman of the Slovak Labor Safety Office, and appointed Engineer Augustin Simoncic to this post. [passage omitted]

After yesterday's session of the Government Presidium of the Slovak Socialist Republic, Milan Cic, premier of the Slovak Socialist Republic, met with journalists for a press briefing. [passage omitted] Referring to the spreading of alarming reports about imminent price increases for industrial and consumer products, including foodstuffs, he said that on the basis of information available to him, he can say that neither the federal nor the republican governments are preparing anything of this sort. Milan Cic also spoke about the standpoint of the Government Presidium of the Slovak Socialist Republic on the solution to legal questions concerning CPSL property. He said that wherever the property in question clearly is not the property of the communist party, the location assignment [dislokacni] commissions of national committees will be making CPSL-occupied establishments available to those interested parties which, from the organizational, social, or medical care viewpoints, can help solve urgent problems in the locality in question. [passage omitted]

Slovak Communist Party Postpones Apr Congress

LD2402171490 Prague CTK in English 1536 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] Bratislava Feb 24 (CTK)—The Slovak Communist Party is in a serious situation and the process of destruction has not yet stopped, discussion at today's session of its Central Committee here showed.

Chairman of the party Central Committee executive committee Peter Weiss spoke about the historical duty to renovate the party and build it as a new modern leftist political force which has ambitions to be a real political factor of the Czechoslovak democratic plurality system.

Czechoslovak communist Party First Secretary Vasil Mohorita said that to maintain the Communist Party means to prevent complete destruction of the left and ensure a certain balance of forces in Czechoslovakia if a balance can be spoken about in a situation when there is the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia on one side and all the other political parties on the other.

The Slovak Communist Party Central Committee cancelled at its session here today the resolution on holding a regular congress of the party on April 6-7, 1990, and decided to hold it only after elections to the legislative bodies.

The session decided to expel 14 members from the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia for political mistakes committed in directing party work in Slovakia. They include Gejza Slapka, Elena Litvajova, Ludovit Pezlar, Ladislav Abraham, Jan Janik, Eugen turzo, Stefan Bachar, Miloslav Boda, Vasil Bejda, and others. [Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak at 1730 GMT on 24 February also reports expulsions from the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia; in addition to the names given above it also lists the following: Rudolf Jurik, Ivan Litvaj, Ladislav Sadovsky, Jozef Sevc, and Bohumie Chudy]

Three Killed in Explosion at Military Base

LD2502164290 Prague CTK in English 1435 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 25 (CTK)—Explosions occurred in two depots of sappers' shelter equipment at a military unit at Drhovice in Tabor district, South Bohemia, on Friday night and Saturday morning, press spokesman of the federal National Defence Ministry Colonel Stanislav Pohoral told CTK today.

In the second explosion three specialists called to the spot were killed, one of them being a public security officer. Another two army members were wounded and have been hospitalized.

The cause of the explosions is being investigated by a joint commission of the army and the Interior Ministry.

Persecuted Officers Returning to Army

AU2302141990 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Feb 90 p 2

[CTK report: "What Next in the Army"]

[Text] Prague—Leading Czechoslovak People's Army [CSLA] officials held a meeting in Prague on 21 February. Major General Miroslav Vacek, CSSR minister of national defense, stressed that in the military it is necessary to proceed unconditionally according to state policy. The Army must adhere to the function for which it was established.

Sixty-one Army officers who had been persecuted in the past have already had their ranks and decorations restored to them. Twelve of them have returned to the Army. However, hundreds of requests have been made to return to the CSLA; therefore, the minister has set the task of speedily resolving all cases. He also set the task of carrying out regular performance reviews on all professional soldiers. The aim of the review will be to check an officers' ability to work in the posts they occupy, to consider their overall preparedness, and their personal and moral qualities.

Defense Minister Wants Troops To Stay

LD2402093290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0316 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In an interview with NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, GDR Defense Minister Theodor Hoffmann has today spoken in favor of the presence of Soviet and U.S. troops in a Germany that is growing together. Apart from this, the two German states should remain members of their alliances while they grow together politically and economically.

"The military disengagement of NATO and the Warsaw Pact in Central Europe will occur step by step within the framework of pan-European disarmament agreements," he said, explaining the Defense Ministry's conceptual positions on the future of the Armed Forces. "If the two German states and their armed forces fulfill their political obligations within the alliances, they will also remain politically calculable during the formation of federative institutions for Europe. The continued presence of contingents of Soviet and U.S. troops on the territories of the two German states, even if they are only of a symbolic nature at a certain time, will lead to a favorable framework for stability and security during this period," the minister said.

"We are striving for solutions that can be slotted into future European security structures at any given time. The military issue must be the bridge to this."

In his opinion, a federal German state could have a federal army composed of citizens from all parts of the country and a total strength of no more than around 300,000 men during peacetime. Fewer would make training impossible and more would cause concern among neighboring countries.

The minister said the process of German unification has "few historical prospects if it is not bound to European security structures and guarantees that no danger to peace will come from a united German state." It appears at the moment that the process of German unification might proceed faster than the European one.

FRG-GDR SPD Joint Policy Statement

AU2302131090 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Feb 90 p 1

[ND-Bossenz report: "SPD (Social Democratic Party): Speedy, but Not Precipitate Unity"]

[Text] Berlin (West)—Speedy, but not precipitate—this is the rate of the unification of the two German states desired by the Social Democratic parties in the GDR and the FRG. A joint statement, which was adopted at the second session of the joint committee of the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] of the FRG and of the GDR in Berlin (West) on 19 February, contains this position.

The statements on this declaration made to the press in Schoeneberg's town hall show realism and good judgment. Stefan Hilsberg, first spokesman of the GDR SPD, pointed out the necessity of a working government so that a "handing-over without social security" is prevented. The introduction of the market economy, German unity, and EC membership have to be connected with social security and social justice for GDR citizens. In a unified Germany, the hard work of the GDR people during the past 40 years must guarantee just incomes and social security to them, as well as to the FRG citizens, he said.

Both parties agreed—this was confirmed by SPD Deputy Chairman Johannes Rau—that the trinity of a currency, economic, and social union is the decisive landmark on the road to German unity. Rau stressed that the Deutsche mark cannot be introduced in the GDR without adequate economic and social reforms. He rejected a "discussion on instruments" for German unity. After 18 March, it is up to the GDR Government to decide what road toward German unity it considers appropriate.

The unification process must also be a motor of disarmament, Stefan Hilsberg said. Therefore, the integration of a united Germany in NATO is rejected.

FRG's Vogel Addresses SPD Rally

LD2302204190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1930 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Hans-Jochen Vogel, chairman of the FRG's Social Democratic Party, [SPD] has appealed for a union of the two German states in partnership. At an electoral rally by the Berlin area executive of the SPD this evening in the packed "Collosseum" movie theater, he expressly rejected the attitude that the GDR is being annexed to the FRG as a virgin territory.

Vogel, who spoke in favor of Germn unity within a federal state, at the same time recalled that the process of German unification has to be embedded in a process of pan-European unification, "a German unification in the midst of our European neighbors." They should have no fear of unification.

In this context, the SPD leader demanded a "clear and uncoded statement" on Poland's western frontier from FRG Chancellor Kohl. For, Vogel argued, what was lost had not been thrown away by Brandt or the present government, but by Hitler. If there is to be talk about frontiers, then it should not be about changing or moving them but about their permeability and their removal.

He appealed for the organization of a certain unity even before state unity. Thus he spoke in favor of a sensible, just, and socially guaranteed monetary union between the two German states. GDR savings should be exchanged at a one-to-one rate over a long period of time. At the same time, the FRG politician was of the

opinion with regard to expected unemployment that in reforming the system in the GDR certain shocks cannot be avoided.

At the meeting, at which three Berlin SPD candidates for the People's Chamber elections on 18 March presented themselves, Vogel expressed his certainty that the SPD has a good chance of emerging from the elections as the strongest party.

SPD's Boehme Discusses Possible Coalitions

AU2602113290 Hamburg BILD in German 24 Feb 90 pp 1,3

[Interview with designated Social Democratic Party Chairman Ibrahim Boehme by Peter Brinkmann; place and date not given]

[Text] [Brinkmann] If you were to win the elections and become premier, would you declare the end of the GDR even on the night of the election on 18 March?

[Boehme] No, certainly not.

[Brinkmann] How much longer should the second German state, the GDR, continue to exist?

[Boehme] As long as necessary and as long as the process of unification makes it necessary for the people.

[Brinkmann] In case you become premier, will you include your predecessor Modrow in a commission negotiating German unity?

[Boehme] No, although I consider it possible to ask his advice in certain questions.

[Brinkmann] Modrow as an adviser to the Social Democratic Party of Germany cabinet?

[Boehme] No, certainly not.

[Brinkmann] Modrow as president of the People's Chamber?

[Boehme] No, not even that.

[Brinkmann] Who would your coalition partners be if you were to become premier?

[Boehme] Certainly not the Party of Democratic Socialism.

[Brinkmann] What about the Christian Democratic Union?

[Boehme] It is currently making things very difficult for us; it is difficult to say.

First SPD Congress Continues Session

LD2302173390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1403 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—Oskar Lafontaine, prime minister of Saarland and the Social Democratic Party's [SPD] designated candidate for chancellor, described Federal Chancellor Kohl's refusal to give immediate sufficient aid to the GDR as a blow to German unity.

Naturally, the prosperity of the GDR population ultimately has to be worked for in the GDR, he said this afternoon at the GDR SPD Congress in Markkleeberg. But freedom always has a sister called solidarity. This is now required. Unity cannot be had for nothing and cannot be financed on the basis of the socially weak. The unification process must not disregard social justice. The federal chancellor's refusal to give immediate aid to the GDR and the inactivity of the federal government with regard to the increasing stream of emigres represents a threat to German unity.

It is not a matter of giving billions from a bottomless pit, as some think, Lafontaine said. Such slogans are only an attempt to conceal that one is much less prepared to open the purse than promised in the election campaign. In reality "subject-related promotion," the expansion of the public infrastructure—including the health service, energy supplies, road construction, and telephone system—could have been tackled immediately. Money would not just have seeped away, he said, contradicting a claim by the federal chancellor. The use of resources can be controlled.

Lafontaine takes strong exception to the, as he said, anachronistic idea of Christian Democratic Union and Christian Social Union politicians that a united Germany must be in NATO. The renewal of the East European states is a contribution to lifting the bloc confrontation. Whoever supports the aim of the "united state of Europe" will also strive for a European defense system. In spite of this, NATO still retains the option of modernizing the nuclear missiles targeted on Leipzig, Dresden, Warsaw, and Prague in 1992. Will the "chancellor of German unity" use his next appearance in the GDR to announce that the brothers and sisters in the GDR will no longer be threatened by new nuclear missiles that are located in the Federal Republic? Lafontaine asked and demanded: Disarmament leads to unity. The fact that the Bonn coalition has passed the highest military budget for 1990 since the war shows that it has still not learned to think in a new way.

The capacities of the Bundeswehr and National People's Army could be used in improving the GDR's infrastructure. Trained personnel and appropriate facilities are available for transport, logistics, repairs, the procurement of spares, transport infrastructure, and telecommunications, as well as the health service, Lafontaine said.

He strongly spoke out in favor of seeking a European solution and coordination with the United States and USSR for the path to German unity. The much-vaunted unity cannot be achieved any other way. Lafontaine praised Gorbachev's stance. He should be given appreciation and recognition for the reforms that he has brought under way, without which the developments in East Europe would not have been possible.

Boehme Elected Chairman

LD2302225390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1928 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—Ibrahim Boehme this evening was elected chairman of the Social Democratic Party in the GDR by a large majority.

At the Social Democrats' Party Congress in Markkleeberg near Leipzig, 438 delegates voted for the party's former business manager. Boehme, who was the only candidate standing for this office, was only voted against by 27 delegates. There were 13 abstentions. Two votes were invalid.

The election was preceded by a short debate on party posts during which speakers, without exception, spoke in favour of Boehme as chairman.

Party Congress Continues

LD2402102[illegible] East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0[illegible] GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—The first party congress of the GDR SPD [Social Democratic Party] continued in Markkleeberg near Leipzig this morning with addresses by international guests. The climax of the third day is to be the election of Willy Brandt as the party's honorary chairman. Willy Brandt, who is already honorary chairman of the West German SPD, will probably give a speech to the delegates and also speak at an SPD election rally on 25 February in Leipzig.

After Ibrahim Boehme was elected party chairman on 23 February and Karl-August Kamilli one of three deputies, there will be further ballots today. The other deputy chairmen, the business manager, treasurer, and the party executive have to be elected.

The election of the deputy chairmen became a trial of strength. Out of a total of nine candidates, only the Leipziger Karl-August Kamilli gained the necessary majority of over 50 percent of the vote in the first ballot late last night; none of the candidates managed to prevail in the second ballot.

Deputy Chairpersons Elected

LD2402105990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1016 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Liepzig (ADN)—Markus Meckel and Angelika Barbe, both from Berlin, were this morning both elected deputy chairpersons of their party in a third ballot at the first party congress of the GDR SPD [Socialist Democratic Party] in Markkleeberg near Leipzig. [passage omitted]

Romberg Addresses Congress

LD2402115290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1049 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—The decision by the SPD [Socialist Democratic Party] to participate in the government was correct, Walter Romberg, minister without portfolio in the Modrow cabinet for 20 days, stated today at the SPD party congress in Leipzig-Markkleeberg. It prevented the total loss of confidence in the government, which in the longer term would have led to the country becoming ungovernable. Now prerequisites have to be created for the government to be elected on 18 March to quickly become capable of acting. The minister rejected "irresponsible talk" that is already summoning up a future cabinet's incapability to act. He spoke in favor of a "genuine" conclusion of a treaty between the GDR and the FRG in this sense.

The economic expert warned against unconsidered declarations of intent on cooperation with Western firms on the part of GDR enterprises. He had the impression that often neither the workers nor the management knew what consequences were connected with this. He feared that the path will be set prematurely by this. Walter Romberg ruled out for the SPD the practice of other parties in the country of proposing members of FRG parties as GDR ministers.

The minister considered a future military strength of 100,000 men in the FRG and 25,000 in the GDR, as well as an at least "symbolic" presence of U.S. and Soviet contingents in the two German states realistic and desirable. The process of depoliticizing the GDR's NVA [National People's Army] also has negative aspects. There is a real danger that ideas about a future "Federal Army" [Bundesheer], linked up with conservative German traditions, will spread. The installation of a new military security system in Central Europe has to rule out the return to a security system determined by German nationalism.

Basic Program Debated

LD2402131390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1115 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—The SPD [Socialist Democratic Party] in the GDR rejects any excessive concentration of economic power. Monopolies and forced mergers of enterprises such as the state-owned combines have to be broken up into competitive enterprises as far as possible. This is stressed in the draft of the party's basic program, the discussion of which the delegates to the first SPD party congress are continuing today in Leipzig-Markkleeberg.

However, an efficient economy is not imaginable without large-scale enterprises. Where the formation of monopolies is inevitable, democratic mechanisms of control gain decisive significance. The workers should democratically elect a works council in enterprises of all forms of ownership on the basis of a law on enterprise

constitutions. It says in the draft program that the latter should conclude an enterprise agreement with the management that legally regulates having a say. The SPD supports free trade unions whose activities should not be allowed to be hampered either by the works council or the management. It also supports the banning of all party political activity in the enterprises.

In its draft program, the SPD decisively rejects fresh experiemnts with a market-oriented or even socialist-planned economy. Both the plan and the omnipotence of the state have to go.

In the draft program, the market and competition are seen as a prerequisite for democracy coming to life and individual freedom and initiative being able to develop to the benefit of all. However, the market economy has to be democratically, socially, and ecologically oriented. A democratic market economy has to be aimed for an efficiency that is not only measured by its benefit to owners of capital, but in which all citizens participate "in the possession of and having a say" in the economy. "We want a social market economy in which everyone finds work, in which the stronger support the weak in the spirit of solidarity, in which a collective system of security protects against poverty in the event of sickness, old age, and unemployment, and in which free trade unions see to it that all workers share in econmic progress," it says in the draft program.

At the same time, the strict and binding ecological framework conditions set by the state for everyone have to have the effect of ending the plundering of nature by production and consumption.

Brandt Honorary Chairman

LD2402132190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1251 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—Willy Brandt, honorary chairman of the FRG (Social Democratic Party) [SPD], was today also elected honorary chairman of the GDR SPD [Social Democratic Party]. He arrived in Leipzig this afternoon as a guest at the first party congress of the GDR SDP in Leipzig and was given an enthusiastic welcome by the delegates, who elected him honorary chairman on a motion by their party executive.

Brandt Addresses Congress

LD2402145990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1337 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—At the Socialist Democratic Party [SPD] party congress in Leipzig-Markkleeberg, internationally famous Social Democrat Willy Brandt who was today elected honorary chairman of the GDR SPD, called on politicians in the FRG to compete to help in what is still effectively the GDR.

It is a matter of the unifying fatherland so that it can be helpful and do justice to its role in Europe loyally and free of destructive nationalism. In this sense, not only national but European attention is due to the Leipzig congress. As the newly elected honorary chairman of the GDR SPD, he intends to support what belongs together growing together sensibly. That is valid for the Germans; that is also true for both parts of social democracy in Germany.

Program of Principles

LD2402222690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2151 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—After several hours of intensive debate, the 500 or so delegates of the first extraordinary party congress of the Social Democratic Party [SPD] of the GDR adopted a program of principles for the party with an overwhelming majority. Working from this document, the delegates intend to debate a special election program on 25 February.

In its program of principles, the SPD comes out in favor of a democratic, social, and ecologically oriented market economy. Comprehensive social guarantees are to secure the existence also of the socially disadvantaged in society. The SPD raises the principle of solidarity to the guiding principle of its actions, the program states.

The document devotes much space to issues relating to a democratic understanding of politics. The SPD sees itself as a popular party that is guided by the basic principles of freedom, justice, and solidarity. In its political action, it supports the dignity of man. It is in favor of social pluralism and sees the right to property and the right of inheritance as important basic rights. The SPD supports the development of parliamentary democracy.

Executive Elected

LD2402213190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2212 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—After 14 hours of debate, the third day of the Social Democratic Party congress ended in Markkleeberg on Saturday [24 February] with the announcement of the results of the elections to the Executive.

The Executive includes, apart from the Party Chairman Ibrahim Boehme, his three deputies, Angelika Barbe, Karl-August Kamilli, and Markus Meckel; the business manager, Stephan Hilsberg; a treasurer; and 27 other members.

Boehme on Modrow Candidacy

LD2502112490 Hamburg DPA in German 1050 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Text] Leipzig (DPA)—Ibrahim Boehme, chairman of the GDR Socialist Democratic Party [SPD], has expressed his respect for Hans Modrow's standing as the Party of Democratic Socialism's top candidate. Boehme, himself a top candidate for his party, told DPA on the fringes of the SPD congress in Leipzig that Modrow is a

"good candidate, but unfortunately in the wrong party." Boehme said it is inconceivable that he will offer Modrow a post in a cabinet led by the SPD after the People's Chamber elections on 18 March.

Resolution Critcizes Stasi

LD2502121190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1120 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—The delegates to the Socialist Democratic Party [SDP] Congress in Leipzig Markkleeberg today demanded in a resolution passed on to their future group in the People's Chamber that the former State Security Police [Stasi] be assessed as a criminal organization. This was based on an initiative by the host city's local SPD association. They also supported suspending the destruction of the confiscated Stasi files covering 25 years, as well as the setting up a People's Chamber Committee immediately after the 18 March People's Chamber elections to "investigate and make public the activities of the Stasi."

Earlier the plenum sanctioned an emergency motion by SPD representatives at the roundtable aimed at stopping "the sale of so-called publicly owned enterprises by Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS] managers." Over the past few days, several delegates had called for the fate of firms not to be decided by managers—mostly members of the former SED-PDS. The cause for expressions of unease were preparatory talks between enterprise directors and Western firms. It says in the relevant resolution that the SPD supports the relevant preparatory contracts and contracts being suspended or annulled. The main demand is that decisions can only be made after consulting the works of councils already in existence or those still to be formed.

Ex-SED Members' Embargoed

LD2502121590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1130 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—Delegates at the Social Democratic Party [SPD] Congress in Leipzig-Markkleeberg today resolved to embargo the admittance of former Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] members who did not leave the SED or the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] until after 7 October 1989. According to the resolution, there has to be at least a year between leaving the SED or PDS and the processing of an application for admittance by an SPD area association. In addition, former SED members who are accepted into the SPD are not allowed to hold any elected post for one year. The SPD intends to act analogously with officials from former bloc parties.

The party congress referred to the fact that on the basis of this resolution, former SED members who have already been admitted by the SPD could be excluded later by the arbitration commission.

Official Forecasts Results

LD2502131690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1139 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Leipzig (ADN)—Stephan Hilsberg, the newly elected business manager of the GDR Social Democratic Party [SPD], believes that his party will have between 35 and 40 percent of the votes in the forthcoming People's Chamber elections. He said this today in a talk with Radio Luxembourg. The Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] would only receive two to three percent of the votes. Hilsberg predicted that the three parties of the "Alliance for Germany" would get 10 to 15 percent. [passage omitted]

Hilsberg said that the SPD would even form a coalition if it did not need to should it have an absolute majority. The tasks are simply too great. The formation of a government would take one to two weeks.

Election Platform Passed

LD2502150790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1151 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—At its first congress in Leipzig-Markkleeberg today, the GDR SPD [Social Democratic Party] passed its election platform. Prior to this, party Chairman Ibrahim Boehme outlined the principles of the document. An important topic is the schedule of the Social Democrats for German unity. The platform places the German unification process within a pan-European framework and also provides for the rights and the interests of the four victorious powers, as well as of the countries neighboring Germany, to be safeguarded. The SPD calls for the creation of pan-German political institutions so that the unification becomes not a chaotic anschluss but a well-ordered growing together. A judicious reform of the legal system could ensure that market economy, co-determination, and social security do not go their separate ways. In addition, an administrative reform must be carried out in the GDR to create a federal state of the five laender with local self-administration.

The SPD is in favor of the two German parliaments making a joint statement on the recognition of German frontiers with neighboring countries. A date proposed for this is the day in March when the newly elected GDR parliament assembles. In April, a six-state conference of the four victorious powers and the two German states, with the participation of neighboring states, should draw up the framework for a future united Germany. A conference on security and cooperation in Europe in autumn 1990 should discuss a pan-European security order to replace, in the long term, NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

The election platform further provides for the GDR parliament in March to recognise the "Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms" of 4 November 1950. In addition to this, the highest people's representation should state its firm and

solemn desire to bring about the unification of the two German states into a German federal state and to implement the unity of the Germans.

In April the two governments should begin negotiations on the treaty for German unity. At this point, the parliament must also establish a law on the creation of the laender. In the development of the pan-German political institutions, the Social Democrats favor above all a council on German unity and propose Willy Brandt as its chairman. This body can accompany the growing-together process as a joint organ. It should be consulted in an advisory capacity on all questions that concern the unification of the two German states and their relations to third states. The council should draw up a joint basic law, based on the basic law of the FRG.

After the local and district elections on 6 May, the building of local self-management and the transformation of the former districts hitherto into land districts [landkreise] should be started. Land Diet elections are proposed for summer 1990 in all five laender of the GDR.

After the conclusion of work on the constitution for the pan-German federal state, it should be initialed by the council on German unity. After this a referendum will have to decide on the constitution. The election of a pan-German parliament can take place after this. On the day of the assembly of the German Bundestag, the FRG Bundestag and the GDR parliament should disband themselves.

According to the statements in the document, German unity will come about through the stages: social union, monetary union, economic union. The FRG and EEC rules can be taken over in many areas. Necessary measures include property, price, and banking reforms, tenant protection, regulations on the housing market, and economic and taxation legislation.

The election platform also includes statements on the economy and agriculture, house building, town planning, the environment, education, science, and foreign policy. The Social Democrat positions on social security, which is to be achieved by a social policy based on solidarity, as well as the contribution on securing German national culture, are also outlined.

In the election campaign, the SPD professes its commitment to the task of a thorough renewal of the country in the process of unifying the two German states. They can at the moment make only one certain statement on a coalition: Never with the Party of Democratic Socialism.

Vogel Addresses Congress

LD2502132690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1203 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—Hans-Jochen Vogel, chairman of the FRG's Social Democratic Party [SPD], has today again rejected a special path for the Germans in Europe, including that of German neutrality. In a short address to the party congress of the GDR sister party in Leipzig-Markkleeberg, he stressed that the Social Democrats are not aiming for a German Europe but a European Germany. German unification should not hamper European unification but give it impetus and advance the European peacetime order. Vogel strongly rejected the extension of NATO to the Oder. Whoever speaks of this is provoking the eastern neighbors—and not only them—just as much as those who still evade a clear statement on the finality of Poland's western border. The imperative of the hour is not the extension of NATO but radical disarmament.

"We want unification, above all, in those areas that are significant for people's everyday lives," Vogel said. Those areas are currently the economy, social security, transportation, and the environment. In these areas, unification could be prepared and organized now as long as issues relating to alliances are still the subject of negotiations.

The chairman of the FRG SPD warned against losing sight of social security and principles of social justice amid everything for a moment.

The GDR SPD should not let itself be confused during the election campaign either by speculative opinion polls or an infamous campaign of slander being carried out from Bonn's Adenauer Building. The truth is: No other political force has made so many sacrifices for its convictions over the past 40 years in the GDR as social democracy. Whoever reviles these sacrifices and at the same time supports a bloc party that has helped support all the human rights violations of the past deserves rejection and contempt.

Vogel said that a victory by the GDR SPD on 18 March might be followed by a victory by the FRG SPD in December. A Germany under Social Democrat leadership is a Germany serious about reforming its social structures, which makes its contribution to mastering the great tasks facing humanity and which no neighbor need fear.

Congress Ends

LD2502133190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1236 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—The first congress of the German Democratic Republic Social Democratic Party ended at midday today in Leipzig-Markkleeberg. Party Chairman Ibrahim Boehme stressed in his short closing remarks that the congress has given the Social Democrats a democratic and legal basis for the elections on 18 March. It passed resolutions on the party's constitution and program of basic principles, based on maintaining people's social interests and securing their freedom. Policies will not create happiness for people but can create the framework conditions for it.

Boehme pointed out the great responsibility of the GDR's politicians for the country's citizens. This

responsibility will increase in proportion to how far they go along the path of unificaion. He knows people's concerns concerning rents, possible unemployment, and saving accounts. The Social Democrats have stepped forward to maintain people's interests. They have committed themselves with their program of basic principles passed at the congress.

"We in the GDR have liberated ourselves for a new quality of politics and for a greater quality of life. Our ability will prove itself by this freedom," Boehme said. The developments in East Europe, and here thanks is above all due to Mikhail Gorbachev, have made possible the opportunity to repair the environmental damage, from which the GDR has suffered particularly painfully, in the common European home together. For the first time in European history, the possibility exists of basing peace on the free agreement of people in East and West.

Brandt, Boehme Address Leipzig Election Rally

LD2502162290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1519 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—Willy Brandt, speaking at a GDR Social Democratic Party [SPD] election rally in Leipzig today, said he had come to Leipzig not primarily as a party member but rather as a German to Germans. The honorary chairman of the Social Democratic parties in both German republics was given a tumultuous welcome on Karl Marx Square by tens of thousands of people.

Newly elected SPD Chairman Ibrahim Boehme said that the SPD is not a party that promises everything to everyone just to win the elections. There will not be an easy path. "But for the first time since 1933, we are fashioning this path in freedom." Ibrahim Boehme called for preservation of the solidarity structures that have come into being in the GDR. What is needed is a unified Germany that is social and democratic.

Brandt Addresses Karl-Marx-Stadt Rally

LD2302211690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1720 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] Karl-Marx-Stadt (ADN)—The two German states are not planning annexation but unification. The honorary chairman of the Social Democratic Party [Willy Brandt] stated this at an election rally at the old market in Plauen (Karl-Marx-Stadt Area) today. To applause from the 40,000 assembled, he exclaimed: "From Rostock to Plauen, as well as from Flensburg to Passau, the citizen's word must have the same strength."

Brandt stressed that hitherto much has been said about German unity. Now the job finally must be done properly. It is a question of doing many things together. No party or group has the right to feel itself to be the sole owner of the truth. The speaker stressed that he had come as a German from the west to his German compatriots in the Vogtland.

"We must help to work for securing world peace as Germans and Europeans," he stressed. Some of the money currently spent on arms should be spent on the fight against hunger and better environmental conditions in the world.

PDS Opens First Congress, Approves Party Name

LD2402094690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0816 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The first congress of the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] began this morning in Berlin as an electoral congress for the People's Chamber elections in three weeks. The two-day congress will adopt a new program and redrafted party statute, discuss the party's tactics for the People's Chamber elections and the PDS electoral program, and hold by-elections for the party executive and arbitration commission. The delegates also have to endorse a decision by the party executive to give the party the new name of PDS, after calling itself Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS] following the December 1989 extraordinary congress. It is also expected to be decided at the party congress if Premier Hans Modrow is available to the PDS as leading candidate for the 18 March elections. [passage omitted]

[East Berlin ADN International Service in German at 0850 GMT on 24 February notes: "The approximately 600 delegates to the first PDS Congress this morning confirmed the new name for the party by a large majority"]

Hoepke, Pohl Present Documents

LD2402112390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0930 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Party executive member Klaus Hoepke this morning gave the report of the program commission to the first PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism] Congress in Berlin. As emerges from the reworked draft, the PDS sees itself as a socialist party open to all those forces of the people who support a socially just society and human relations of solidarity. It was particularly oriented toward the interests of workers and all working people.

According to the draft program, the PDS taps "the history of humanist thought, particularly the dialectical and historical views of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel, Eduard Bernstein and Karl Kautsky, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, Lenin and Gramsci and the variety of developments that succeeded them." The party critically took on board all these ideas. The membership of the PDS was not bound to a certain profession of ideolgoical beliefs. The party supported a relationship of partnership with social democracy.

The PDS supports the "Unity of Germany with a federation of free and equal peoples and nations of Europe" in the draft program up for debate. The condition for this

was that both German states changed, did not give up the values supported by their citizens, and could make independent contributions.

Deputy Party Chairman Wolfgang Pohl gave the statute commission's report. The commission presented the reworked draft statute of the PDS to the delegates, which sketches out the party's political and organizational profile. In this, issues connected with party membership are ruled on and the party's structure laid down with subdivisions into basic organizations, district, area, or land organizations. The party congress is the party's highest body and decided on the program and statute and lays down the basic lines of its policies. It elects the party chairman, the party executive, and the arbitration commission in a secret ballot.

The draft statute envisions elected posts in the party not being held for longer than 10 consecutive years at the same level. Secret elections should take place at all levels up to the party congress every two years. Another point in the draft deals with the work of PDS members on elected bodies.

The statute also regulates the party's financing. Thus, the PDS' funds are composed of membership contributions, the profits from the party's enterprises and institutions, from subsidies regulated by law, from the state budget, as well as from donations and other income from organizatigonal work.

Gysi on Unification

LD2402165190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1541 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In his speech this afternoon in Berlin, to the applause of the delegates at the first PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism] Party Congress, party Chairman Gregor Gysi thanked GDR Premier Hans Modrow for his work as head of government. Modrow had played an outstanding role in holding this government together. "In uncertain times much depends on individual personalities," the speaker said. The relationship to this personality is sustained by warmheartedness, in contrast to earlier.

In this, the most difficult historical phase of the development of the GDR, the government led by Hans Modrow had assumed responsibility for the country. Despite all prophecies of doom, this government had the confidence of the people. In his thanks for this, the PDS chairman included not only the PDS cabinet members, but also those from other parties.

Gysi reaffirmed the PDS view on unification of the two German states as being in the interests of the European process of unification. One can not imagine that the European peoples "stand and watch how the two German states are to be nailed to each other," he said to applause. Only if the GDR is involved in the unification process as a sovereign, equal partner could the unification succeed to the benefit of Europe.

Differences between the two parts of Germany, such as those in the intellectual-cultural sphere, cannot be removed in a day. But above all, a unified Germany should not become a new trouble spot in Europe or a threat to the European peoples. It is only in this spirit that the PDS supports the efforts for German unity, and the proposal for the four-plus-two conference and Poland's proposal to take part in such a conference.

Economic considerations, too, namely the fact that a future Germany has to be "economically manageable" for Europe, plays a determining part in the PDS position of striving for a European Germany, but not a German Europe.

According to Gysi, the PDS has at present 650,000-700,000 members. An exact overview will only be possible after the new membership cards have been issued. Above all, it had been young people who had saved the party from disbandment. They had stood at the head of renewal in many cases. "The party lives above all at the grass-roots level, and here the renewal is often being carried out more quickly than among the executives," the speaker stated.

Gysi stated that at present 360 political workers are active in the party Executive. This is 42 percent of the staff in the apparatus of the old Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee. Of these 360 workers, many are new. The area executives are working with only 10-25 percent of their former number of staff, and the district executives with five-15 percent. This reduced apparatus is functioning very well, due above all to people working in an voluntary capacity. "Nowadays people are knocking at our doors: That wasn't the case before," Gysi said.

Gysi on Military Service

LD2402175590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1628 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Speaking at his party's election congress in Berlin this afternoon, Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] Chairman Gregor Gysi proposed scrapping military service and all forms of alternative service in the two German states. There would then remain only professional armies, which should receive civil servant status.

If the Federal Republic does not follow this proposal "because of its inclination to everything military," the GDR should do so unilaterally. The concerns of other countries about a neutral and therefore too independent Germany can be removed through demilitarization.

Modrow To Run as Candidate

LD2502092190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0852 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Premier Hans Modrow will stand as the Party of Democratic Socialism's [PDS] leading candidate in the People's Chamber elections on

18 March. The current most popular GDR politician announced this at the PDS party congress today.

The delegates to the party congress gave a standing ovation to Premier Hans Modrow's decision to make himself available as the PDS' leading candidate in the parliamentary elections. Modrow justified his decision, which "had not been easy," with three points. He has three decades of a political career behind him and would rather see younger comrades in this position. The party Executive and, above all, the young party grass roots have, however, strongly persuaded him to make this move.

Modrow on Candidacy

LD2502111390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1021 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Premier Hans Modrow has already stated that he will be a candidate for the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] in the forthcoming People's Chamber elections. This morning he told the delegates at the first PDS congress in Berlin that this decision was not easy for him. He cited three reasons, above all, for this: First, if the PDS wishes to renew itself, there must be a consistent turning away from the past, for without this the party cannot become credible. Modrow referred to his continuous membership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee since 1958 and his approximately 15 years of work as first secretary of the Dresden Socialist Unity Party of Germany area executive. "Despite everything that I tried to do in 1989—and perhaps also before—for a policy of change, I now know very definitely that it was not sufficient," he stated. He has to live with this and find with the PDS a new kind of political home.

His work as premier has, at the same time, served the party in its efforts to develop into a new party. With this reflection, he also wishes to call on the citizens of the GDR to have confidence in the PDS list of candidates.

He cited his repeatedly expressed statement that as premier he cannot have obligations to a party, but to the people, as the second reason for his considerations. He has only been accepted by the roundtable and by "many GDR citizens, perhaps also by some citizens in the Federal Republic as premier of the GDR," with this political declaration. Before the elections, too, he will not act contrary to this fundamental declaration. "Modrow is not a turncoat," he said, to the applause of the delegates. He asked for understanding for the fact that he sees himself as having supraparty responsibility.

Modrow's third consideration is that whoever is elected to the People's Chamber for the PDS should not have sat there for over three decades. Only thus can the new deputies really pursue a new party policy. In accordance with his abilities, he will help democratic renewal as a whole and also the party. He actually wants to ask the delegates "to show understanding" to a comrade who has taken on responsibility "but who now, perhaps for physical reasons, does not want to go into the next race because he is still striving in order to fulfill a greater responsibility until the elections." Now the expectation of his candidacy has been put forward by many thousands in the party. So the only possibility remaining for him is not to disappoint hundreds of thousands "who have decided to fashion a new democratic left in our country, and to win votes for them in fair and equal elections by accepting the candidacy."

The delegates, who received Modrow's statement with jubilation and long applause, unanimously approved the candidacy by raising their delegates' cards.

Luft To Run as Candidate

LD2502104990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1024 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Christa Luft, deputy premier responsible for economic matters in the Modrow government, will also be a candidate for the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] in the People's Chamber elections on 18 March. Party Chairman Gregor Gysi announced this today at the PDS congress in Berlin.

Gysi also told the delegates about a resolution of the party Executive to relieve Hans Modrow of the function of deputy party chairman and to propose him as honorary chairman of the PDS. The delegates unanimously approved this proposal.

Electoral Platform Accepted

LD2502124990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1103 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—After the morning session of the last day of discussions of the two-day Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] electoral party congress, the speculation on the political future of GDR Premier Dr. Hans Modrow has been settled. The hitherto deputy chairman of the PDS will be a PDS candidate in the first free, secret-ballot parliamentary elections in GDR history on 18 March as its honorary chairman. The party congress resolved this morning in Berlin that along with him, his deputy in the government, Minister of the Economy Dr. Christa Luft, and Juergen Demloff from the GDR Association for the Disabled, will also be on the party's list of candidates for the People's Chamber elections. [passage omitted]

With a mere two abstentions and no votes against, the delegates also accepted the PDS electoral platform, which was amended by many proposals arising from the debate. This was justified by party Chairman Gregor Gysi in a two-and-a-half-hour speech on 24 February.

Election Platform Approved

LD2502165790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1514 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In the election platform "For Democratic Freedoms—For Social Security" that it

passed today, the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] speaks in favor of "aiming the historical process of German unification at overcoming the division of Europe and at the creation of a progressive, social and democratic Germany." The deep socioeconomic and social differences require that every state actively exercise its own sovereignty in order to bring its values into this community.

In its election platform, the PDS speaks in favor of not giving up the social values and achievements such as the right to work, the system of children's services, free education, cooperative and public property in industry, agriculture, and other branches of the economy, and also antifascism and internationalism. A change must take place not only in the GDR, which must participate in the unification process as a sovereign state.

The platform states that in order that all power can actually emanate from the people, "we need a pluralist parliamentary democracy, strong and independent people's representations on all levels, citizens' committees, citizens' initiatives, and a critical public." The PDS supports the interests of all workers in a socially and ecologically oriented market economy that is aimed at social security for all on the basis of high performances and that creates the economic prerequisites for satisfying the various needs of the people.

In its election platformthe PDS further speaks in favor of a "livable, healthy, and beautiful environment as a most elementary human right." Only action that is ecologically friendly is also rational, both socially and for the national economy. In this spirit, the party supports an ecological security partnership in Europe based on securing peace through disarmament.

Women's interests as social interests must be translated into concrete policies in a policy "that guarantees the real equality of both sexes in society."

In addition, the PDS calls for a new education law that includes fundamental reforms from kindergarten level to university, as well as a new youth law to guarantee the basic rights of youth in a binding and authoritative way.

Finally, the party wishes to work for free science, art and media. Sport has an inalienable function as a cultural and social expression.

In the international field, the PDS is in favor "of radical disarmament in East and West, and of solidarity between people, and is against neofascism, racism and anti-Semitism." It intends to work for extensive demilitarization and for the elimination of all concepts of the enemy. The two German states have "the chance to contribute actively to a Europe on its way to an irreversible peace, free from arms."

Congress Ends

LD2502152990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1354 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Members of the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] should be conscious of the momentous decision that the population of the GDR faces, party Chairman Gregor Gysi stated this afternoon at the conclusion of the first congress of the PDS.

Every vote for the PDS was a vote for independence of the GDR in the framework of the European and German unification process, a vote for the representation of the interests of GDR citizens in this process, a vote for social security, for democracy and a state based on the rule of law. At least it should not be possible to ignore the PDS in making changes to the Constitution. For this, every vote is needed. Gysi spoke in favor of a fair and constructive forward- looking election campaign.

The first party congress of the PDS in the GDR had been an important party congress that had approved a democratic statute—its own program with concrete statements but also "with socialist visions and clear support for internationalism."

For the first time the party had an honorary chairman in Hans Modrow. To the applause of the delegates, Gregor Gysi added: "And he is from the GDR." The party congress ended with the singing of the GDR national anthem and the "Internationale."

Modrow Discusses Candidacy Again

LD2502161690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1526 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—At a news conference after the conclusion of the first Party of Democractic Socialism [PDS] Congress in Berlin, GDR Premier Hans Modrow this afternoon once again commented on his decision to stand as a candidate in the forthcoming People's Chamber election.

The question of his candidacy played a big role in the run-up to the party congress. He said he wanted to say once again "with all openness" that his delay on this is by no means a game, but "all seriousness." He took the decision after much consideration and—he repeated the statement he made at the party congress—it was "not easy" for him.

Together with five members of the party Presidium, Modrow was facing domestic and foreign journalists. Party Chairman Gregor Gysi said at the start that anyone who "means to be fair to us" has to admit that the PDS is making serious efforts for renewal and a completely new profile.

Further on News Conference

LD2502180290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1634 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow reemphasized this afternoon, after the conclusion of the first PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism] congress, that the decision to stand in the forthcoming People's Chamber elections had not been an easy one. "It was not an easy matter," he said at a news conference in the presence of five members of the party Executive. The discussions leading up to it also had aroused thoughtfulness in him.

In response to the question of whether he had not suffered a loss of credibility through this, the premier said that the ministers from other parties no longer felt bound by earlier arrangements on a kind of suspended membership. Ministers, in particular, from the new parties now would be campaigning very actively for the elections. He therefore assumed that he would be shown the same degree of tolerance.

He himself would campaign in the Neubrandenburg Area, but he did not want to follow any extensive electoral platform, preferring to hold talks with the electors in his electoral district.

Party Chairman Gregor Gysi reinforced the PDS position on the German-German unification process and the related questions of alliance policy. A future demilitarized Germany must not necessarily be neutral.

Draft of PDS Statute Released

AU2202103790 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17-18 Feb 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Statute of the Party of Democratic Socialism (Draft)"]

[Text] The Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS) is a German socialist party. The goal and content of its political work is humanistic democratic socialism. By this it understands the peaceful and decent free development of every individual as a condition for the free development of all in harmony with the natural environment, self-administration by the people in all spheres of social life, the overcoming of the alienation of the producers from the producer goods, a society of social justice, human relations full of solidarity, and a high quality of living for all citizens.

The PDS is the political home of dedicated democratic socialists. It is not a class party but open to all forces of the people that are working to implement the basic values of democratic socialism. Ideological narrow-mindedness is alien to it.

By making policy suggestions in accordance with its program and through the work of its members, the party wants to serve the people together with other leftist and democratic forces and contribute to solving the tasks of society.

The party is rooted in the tradition of the progressive German and international workers movement. It is rooted in the socialist, communist, and social democratic workers movement. It draws on humanistic and pacifist ideas. It is a consistently antifascist party. It bases its policy on the modern social sciences, in particular on the theoretical legacy of the entire Marxist thinking.

The party struggles with determination against all forms of nationalism, fascism, Stalinism, racism, chauvinism, hostility toward foreigners, anti-Semitism, and other forms of violating human dignity.

The party is struggling in fair competition to gain sympathizers and democratic majorities for the implementation of its political goals.

The PDS is a voluntary association of members with equal rights. Democracy from the party grass roots up is to be practiced and guaranteed in party life and is the principle of the party's actions. Openness and variety of opinions, the democratic formation of will, voting and control, joint actions, and solidarity apply in inner-party life. The party is relentlessly against any kind of totalitarian and monopolistic structure of power and the resulting bureaucratic centralism and dogmatism.

Preserving the internationalist traditions, the party is developing active relations with socialists, communists, social democrats, and other democratic movements in Europe and in the world. International solidarity with all people who are struggling for national and social liberation is one of the party's indispensable concerns.

I. Membership of the Party

1. Persons who are GDR citizens or foreigners with residence in the GDR, are over 18 years of age, recognize the program and the statute, do not belong to any other party, and are willing to work in a basic organization may be members.
2. Acceptance takes place individually by a basic organization. If a person is rejected, he has the right to complain to an arbitration committee.
3. Every member has the right
a) to freely express his opinion in members' assemblies and other party events on all party matters, present motions, and submit proposals for decisions, including on the election and dismissal of functionaries and executive committees;
b) to also express criticism of decisions, and to advocate his standpoint on a matter;
c) to call for his proposals, suggestions, and criticism to be dealt with thoroughly, as well as to make inquiries with any executive committee. This includes the right to comprehensive truthful information on all party matters;
d) to consult with comrades of another basic organizations for the propose of formation of opinion within the

party and to work out standpoints, proposals, and motions. For this purpose, platforms without independent organizational structures may be formed. They are entitled to use the facilities and materials for work of the party;
e) to vote and to be elected;
f) to participate, at his request, in sessions of executive committees he has voted for directly.
4. The party member supports the following principles of party work:
a) to work for the implementation of the adopted decisions;
b) to educate himself politically;
c) to exercise solidarity and to deal with people who think differently in a civilized manner and with tolerance;
d) to regularly pay his membership fees.
5. For the representation of specific interests—for instance, those of young party members, female members, party veterans, handicapped people, and people employed in enterprises with similar forms of ownership or production structures—interest groups and work groups with their own regulations can be formed within the party that have the right to submit motions and to present objections.
6. a) Membership expires through death, resignation, or expulsion.
b) A member can be expelled in the case of serious violations of the program or statute, in particular in the case of abuse of his function, by the member's assembly of his basic organization with a two-thirds majority. The member has the right to be present and to make a statement when the member's assembly deals with the matter.
c) The expelled member may appeal against his expulsion at the Arbitration Committee, which is elected by the Party Congress.
d) The members' assembly may decide to suspend the membership of party members if this is necessary for legal or health reasons.

II. Party Structure

Basic Organizations

7. The basic organizations are the most important organizational units of the party. They have the right to decide independently and freely and to act on their own responsibility in accordance with the program and the statute.
8. Basic organizations are formed in agreement with the responsible district committee.
a) The determining organizational form of the party consists of the basic organizations in the urban residential areas and villages.
b) Party members may form aktivs and elect their spokesmen in companies, enterprises, cooperatives, and institutions.
c) Party members in institutions and enterprises may organize themselves there if conditions are appropriate, or in basic organizations that they form in the region.
d) In the region, bases and consultative bodies may be formed as sites for the exchange of experiences, support, and coordination of party work.
9. The supreme organ of the basic organization is the members' assembly, which is to be convened by the executive committee as necessary, in general once every two months.
10. The members' assembly elects the chairman and the executive committee of the basic organization by secret ballot. Both are accountable to the members' assembly.
11. The basic organization is responsible for deciding on its structure.
a) The determining factor of all relevant stipulations is that the links between the executive committee and the members are to be as close as possible, and effective, transparent conditions for high-quality inner-party life and realistic political reactions are to be created.
b) If the basic organization is divided into groups, these groups elect their group organizer and his deputy.

The groups regularly meet for conferences, discuss questions of party policy, and decide on tasks in line with the concrete situation.
12. The basic organizations have the right
a) to make decisions on all matters of their own work and to submit proposals and motions to superior party bodies concerning the matters of the party, which have to be dealt with within four weeks;
b) to send comrades directly to delegates' conferences at superior levels, including the party congress, in accordance with the established allocation formula.
13. The basic organizations ensure that their members educate themselves politically and receive sufficient information as the foundations for the formation of their opinions, decisions, and participation in work.
14. At the level of villages, town districts, and cities that do not have the status of a district organization, executive committees may be elected at plenary members' assemblies or delegates' conferences.

District and Area/Land Organizations

15. The basic organizations of a district form a district organization; the district organizations of an area/land form the area/land organization.
16. a) the permanent supreme organ of the district or area/land organization is the district or area/land delegates' conference. These form a quorum if more than half of the elected delegates are present.
b) The modalities for a delegate's mandate, as well as for the convening of the delegates' conference and the fixing of the allocation formula for delegates by the respective executive committee, follow Items 23, 25, 27, and 29 of this statute.
17. The delegates' conference elects in a secret ballot the chairman, the executive committee, and the arbitration committee, which are accountable to the delegates' conference.

The chairman, his deputies, the heads of the committees, the party's group chairman, and other elected members

form the presidium of the executive committee. It reports to the executive committee on its work at every session.

18. The delegates' conferences and executive committees represent the party in the democratic life of the region and develop their own concepts and initiatives on all questions of society, in particular on economic development, social policy, local policy, and questions of ecology and culture.

19. The delegates' conferences and executive committees have the right to make decisions concerning all matters of their own work and to present proposals and motions to superior party bodies on matters concerning the entire party.

20. Offices and committees may be formed at the party executive committees, which consist mainly of members doing work on an honorary basis. Special committees support the party members in solving the problems of society and questions of their professional development.

21. The executive committees strive to achieve close cooperation with all democratic forces that are pledged to the Constitution.

22. The executive committees help the basic organizations fulfill their tasks.

Supreme Organs of the Party

23. The party's permanent supreme organ is the party congress. There is a quorum if more than half of the delegates are present. The delegates retain their seats until new elections. The delegating members' assembly or delegates' conference may withdraw the mandate at some time in between if there are important reasons for this.

If delegates cannot fulfill their mandate because they resign from the party organization from which they received their mandate, because they end their membership, or because their mandate is withdrawn, the delegating party organization may transfer the mandate to another party member in a secret ballot.

24. The party congress decides on the program and statute of the party, lays down the basic lines of party policy, deals with questions of party work, and adopts resolutions on these matters. It accepts the reports by the Executive Committee and the Arbitration Committee for discussion and decision-making. It adopts positions on the work of the party's group in the supreme people's representative body.

The party congress decides on its own agenda.

In a secret ballot it elects the party chairman, the Executive Committee, and the Arbitration Committee. The party chairman is elected if he receives two-thirds of the votes of the congressional delegates.

25. The allocation formula for the election of the delegates to the congress is laid down by the Executive Committee.

The congressional delegates are elected at district delegates' conferences. Each district organization must be represented by at least one delegate.

Basic organizations whose number of members corresponds to the allocation formula elect their congressional delegates directly.

26. The executive committee submits theses on the congress, which are the basis of party discussions in preparation of the congress.

At least 10 days before its opening, the most important materials that are intended to be submitted for decision must be published in the party press or by means of other appropriate forms of publication.

27. The congress is convened by the executive committee at least eight weeks before the date of the congress. If at least one-quarter of the members call for a congress to be held, the executive committee must meet this demand by convening a party congress within eight weeks of the submission of the signatures.

If this is not done, the organizations calling for a congress have the right to form an organization committee, which acquires the right of the executive committee to convene a congress.

28. The Executive Committee

a) is the organ of the party congress and is convened by the party chairman;

b) holds sessions at least once every two months;

c) elects the deputy chairmen, the heads of the committees, and the party's treasurer. The chairman, his deputies, the heads of the committees, the treasurer, and the head of the party's group in the supreme people's representation, and other elected members form the presidium;

d) is entitled to make decisions by a majority of the votes in order to implement the congressional resolutions and to solve topical political tasks.

In order to implement the decisions, the Presidium of the Executive Committee may make decisions. It has the duty to report on its work at the sessions of the Executive Committee;

e) works with committees, which mainly consist of members doing work on an honorary basis;

f) confirms elected or appointed publishers, chief editors of party publications and heads of party publishing houses;

g) manages and controls the institutions of the party, distributes the financial resources of the party, and administers the central party cash; the use of the financial resources is to be reported annually.

29. Sessions of the Executive Committee must be convened outside the schedule if this is called for by one-quarter of the members of the Executive Committee or of the area/land and district committees.

30. The party chairman represents the party. He manages and coordinates the work of the Executive Committee and the Presidium. He is accountable to the party congress.

The Executive Committee may pass a vote of no confidence on the chairman by an absolute majority. If this is done the congress is convened.

31. The Arbitration Committee, which is to be elected by the congress, is accountable to the congress and reports to it on the results of its work.

The Arbitration Committee
a) works to ensure that the party statute is observed by all party members and investigates indications of violation of the party statute;
b) examines and decides on appeals against decisions, including expulsions from the party, made by the basic organizations;
c) supervises the orderly collection and application of party finances and the use of party property;
d) ensures the orderly processing of motions, proposals, and criticism submitted to the Executive Committee and its Presidium. It has the duty to inform these bodies of deficiencies noted and to call for changes.

The Arbitration Committee elects its chairman and his deputy. Members of the Arbitration Committee must not be members of elected party executive committees of the same level. The chairman of the Arbitration Committee and his deputy participate in the sessions of the party Executive Committee with an advisory vote. The chairman of the Arbitration Committee has the right to participate in sessions of the Presidium.

32. The rights and duties of the Arbitration Committee, which is elected by the party congress, also apply to the arbitration committees at the district and area/land level.

The decisions of the arbitration committees are to be implemented together with the respective responsible executive committees.
33. Elective functions in the party may not be exercised for more than 10 years consecutively at a particular level.
34. The party members working full time at and in executive committees are organized in basic organizations outside their leading bodies.
35. Every two years secret elections are held at all levels up to the congress; these elections are linked with accountability reports submitted by the executive committees and the arbitration committees. In accordance with the regional conditions, necessary special regulations may be found at the district and area/land level. The executive committee decides on election regulations for preparing and holding party elections.
36. In order to ensure their ability to function, the executive committees may hold by-elections to elect delegates of the respective level to the executive committee by majority decision between the congresses or delegate's conferences.

III. Party Members in People's Representative Bodies

37. The party's candidates for elections to the local representative bodies at all levels are nominated on the basis of the GDR election law at the plenary members' assemblies and delegates conferences of the respective level or at the party congress. The executive committees and their presidiums are to submit the election proposals to the electoral commissions in time. They support their candidates in getting a deputy's mandate.
38. a) Groups and deputies with the mandate of the PDS work in the people's representative bodies independently in accordance with the party program and other programmatic party documents adopted by the supreme party organ at the respective level.
b) Members of the party groups may participate with an advisory vote in the sessions of the executive committee of the respective level.

IV. Property and Material and Financial Resources of the Party

39. The party's property is administered by the executive committees in accordance with their right of disposal. The right of disposal of the basic organizations, district and area/land executive committees is to be regulated by decisions of the Executive Committee.
40. The party's financial resources consist of the membership fees, revenues of enterprises and institutions of the party, and revenues from services provided by the party's enterprises and institutions, of legally regulated subsidies from the state budget, as well as of donations and other revenue from organizational work. The party Executive Committee decides on the distribution of the party's financial resources.
41. The party members pay their membership fees as an expression of their affinity with the party and in accordance with their income and social situation. The member calculates his fee himself on the basis of his net monthly income.

Payments and premiums for overtime, work on Sundays, holidays and at night; premiums and bonuses for shift work; hardship allowances; receipts from social insurance and state children's allowances; as well as bonuses, including end-of-year and loyalty bonuses; and additional rewards are not taken into consideration when calculating the membership fee.

The minimum fee corresponds to the guideline decided by the party Executive Committee.

The minimum fee for members without their own income from work and for pupils, full-time students, apprentices, and soldiers doing basic military service is 0.50 GDR mark [M]. Members in receipt of old-age or health pensions pay their monthly fees in accordance with their financial possibilities. The minimum monthly fee is M1.
42. M10 is payable upon acceptance as a party member.
43. The Executive Committee adopts guidelines for the organizational aspects of collecting fees and conveying them to the party [Beitragsruecklauf].
44. The elected executive committees are accountable to the party congress, the delegates' conferences, or the members' assemblies in respect of revenues and their use and in respect of on the administration of the party's property.

Gysi Stresses Democratic Socialism

LD2302094190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0202 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Dr. Gregor Gysi considers socialism in the Stalinist mould to have failed worldwide. Democratic socialism is as yet a small plant in need of care, but ultimately the only solution to the global problems of humanity, he said in an interview published in the youth newspaper JUNGE WELT today under the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] electoral slogan "Don't worry, take Gysi."

"We have capitalism on two-thirds of the globe, but all is not well for the people in two-thirds of the world," the chairman of the PDS points out. "Perhaps 10 to 15 countries are well off, and they live at the expense of the third world. This is how the world economic order is organized. And in these 10 to 15 countries there are still sectors of society that are extremely disadvantaged."

He believes that even in the event of a unification of the two German states there will still be a Party of Democratic Socialism. He sees a real chance for his party, and for others, even in the Bundestag. [passage omitted]

In Gysi's view, a broad cooperation of the splintered left-wing forces in the country is unrealistic before the elections. But afterward, this will be not only possible "but also urgently necessary."

Gysi Addresses PDS Rally in Berlin

LD2502212490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2023 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—More than 50,000 people demonstrated in Berlin Lustgarten this evening in favor of a sovereign GDR, against absorption and social cuts. Taking part in the event called by the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] were representatives of other left-wing parties and movements, as well as nonparty members.

Many declared their wishes with GDR flags and banners bearing such slogans as: "Don't be taken in!," and "Think of us children, we are the people, too!" [passage omitted]

PDS Chairman Gregor Gysi went to the microphone with the stipulation that he did not want to make an election speech, as the situation was too serious, the country was involved. To applause, he spoke against an intended "annexation" of the GDR, in which the legal, political, economic, and social rights of citizens would be destroyed. Both German states must reform and change themselves. "We do not want a two-thirds society, do not want to live at the expense of the Third World." If there should be a united Germany, Gysi said, it must be a demilitarized, progressive, democratic one. A democratic, socialist Germany remained a wonderful, great aim.

Referring to Helmut Kohl's election speeches in the GDR, the PDS chairman stressed: "We should say to him that we do not wish to be united according to his ideas, neither in the 1937 borders nor as a sellout." [passage omitted]

To applause from the crowd, he repeated the demand of the first PDS Congress, that conscription be abolished in both German states. He entreated the members of the Bundestag to move up the Bundestag elections in order to have a government that does not act only according to election tactics, and so that the Federal German election campaign would not be continued on GDR soil. [passage omitted]

Modrow Urges 'Sensible Script' for Unification

LD2302194190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1918 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] Hamburg (ADN)—In his speech at the traditional Senate Matthew's Banquet in Hamburg City Hall this evening, GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow called for levelheadedness in solving the German question. "Never mind the euphoria, the unification of the two states is not just a single working hypothesis." And no one should get on their high horse about it. He was saying this because a "sensible script for unification" is required "so that it does not become a drama."

Our neighbors, too, are expecting reason because the German question has a European and an international dimension. After all, no one wants to view the "marriage of East and West" with fear, Modrow said. Indeed, there is an exceptional opportunity to give an example of East-West relations through a national solution.

Modrow also praised Hamburg's role. The city will play a particular role in the process of German unification. The Hansa city is "predistined for this through its cosmpolitan attitudes and tradition of trade with the East."

Modrow Cautious About German Unification

LD2302153790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1349 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] Hamburg (ADN)—GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow has said that the two German states should approach one another cautiously and with a sense of responsibility. At the Land news conference today, the GDR premier said that in this sensitive process a hectic pace and lack of levelheadedness can only be harmful. "The solution of the national question and election tactics should be mutually exclusive." A sensible tempo is necessary. His government's main task is to preserve the people of the GDR from harm until 18 March.

"Both German states have something important to contribute to the German federal state," Modrow said. "It should be a mutual give and take." The unification of the two German states must not frighten the European neighbors but must create international trust. For him

this is, "with all respect for the national point of view, the first and basic condition for the road to unity."

Democratic Awakening Calls for Early Unity

LD2402181290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1735 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—At an election campaign rally in Berlin's Lustgarten on 24 February, Democratic Awakening [DA] called for German unity as soon as possible. On the square, which was moderately full of people, party Chairman Wolfgang Schnur expressed his hope "that soon Berlin will be the capital of a unified fatherland and the whole of Europe."

He directed vehement attacks against the Social Democrats of both German states and the Party of Democratic Socialism, which are stoking up fear among the populace. The DA chairman wooed voters with the call "we will guarantee their social security."

Executive member Rainer Eppelmann paid tribute to the "huge risk being taken by the FRG in the transition from a planned to a market economy in the GDR." Helmut Kohl is better than his reputation, he stressed, and referred to the long years of excellent contacts with the government in Bonn.

Berlin must be in the vanguard of Germany unity, West Berlin CDU leader Eberhard Diepgen said. With the words "work is lying on the streets," he tried to assuage the citizens' fears of social welfare cutbacks. The elections on 18 March are a fateful decision for the whole of Germany. Any new form of socialism, any experiments, must be decisively rejected.

FRG's Genscher Addresses Election Rally

LD2402180190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1631 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] Weimar (ADN)—"We don't want a German Europe, but a European Germany," said Federal Democratic Party Chairman Hans- Dietrich Genscher on 24 February to more than 2,000 people attending an election rally of the League of Free Democrats on the Theaterplatz in Weimar. Now conditions have to be created under which unification can take place in agreement with our neighbors. "We have no territorial claims against any of our neighbors; we want to live within the borders we have today," said the FRG politician. After the removal of the wall of stone, the walls of missiles and bombs now have to be taken down as well.

He called for liberalism in the GDR and the introduction of a social, "really functioning market economy" instead of "really existing socialism." To savers, senior citizens, and the socially disadvantaged, he promised a life with human dignity for which the social market economy will provide resources.

Independent Socialists Opt Out of Elections

LD2502040790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2306 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Independent Socialist Party (USP) will support left-wing election alliances and groups, but will not itself stand at the People's Chamber elections on 18 March. This was announced at discussions held by the party today.

The main aim of the USP is to prevent an election victory by the Alliance for Germany. Council of Spokesmen member Rainer Land said that what must be achieved is the possibility of steps toward, and substance of, the unification of the two German states to be discussed publicly and democratically, even after the election.

All the parties and associations standing for election must be examined to see what they would do for social and ecological progress.

United Left, Carnations Form Alliance

LD2502221990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1829 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The United Left and the Carnations are forming a "United Left Action alliance" for the People's Chamber elections on 18 March. This was decided by the 200 or so delegates at the organization's electoral congress in Berlin today. [passage omitted]

The action alliance wanted to address particularly those citizens who advocate a sovereign GDR. The United Left and the Carnations support the idea that even after the elections the influence of citizens movements on the political decisions of the parliament and the local bodies should be maintained and guaranteed. [passage omitted]

IFM Calls for Dissolution of Military Blocs

LD2502193990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1756 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—At a petition rally in Berlin's Lustgarten today, the Peace and Human Rights Initiative [IFM] called for the dissolution of the military blocs. As on the previous day at the Alexanderplatz, they also advocated the disbandment of the National People's Army and the Bundeswehr, and for the withdrawal of all foreign troops.

"It is with concern that we hear comments from responsible politicians in the United States and the Federal Republic that a united Germany must be integrated into NATO," the declaration states. It is now the duty of all Germans and of their governments to work together for a Europe of friendly peoples. The billions spent on arms in East and West must be used to solve economic, social, and ecological problems.

The petition, begun on 15 February in the GDR and the FRG, is to be sent to the heads of government of the two German states at the beginning of March.

Social Democrats Demand Army Disbandment

LD2602094490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0928 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Dresden (ADN)—The federal executive of the Independent Social Democratic Party (USDP) has demanded the disbandment of the National People's Army by the end of next year. It sees this as an incentive for the demilitarization of Europe as a whole. Party Deputy Federal Chairman Gerhard Brenn told ADN that the resources thereby released should be used for social purposes. [passage omitted]

Greens, Independent Women's Union Platform

LD2302183590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1619 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Green Party and the Independent Women's Union introduced their joint election platform and leading candidates for the 18 March elections at a news conference in Berlin today. They said that the unification of the German nation must be a reciprocal reform process. The two organizations favor the dissolution of the military blocs and a gradual demilitarization of the two German states. A statement says that the GDR must not become a NATO member.

The alliance partners underlined that the basic human right to work must be retained. This right must remain a constitutional right. They also favor a stronger representation of women in decisive areas of politics and the economy. The promotion of research into the ecological restructuring of the industrial society is also an urgent necessity.

The leading candidates for 18 March are Dr. Ina Merkel and actress Walfriede Schmidt for the Independent Women's Union, and Vera Wolengerg and Vollrad Kuhn for the Green Party.

'Alliance 90' Announces Election Candidates

LD2302131890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1057 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The "Alliance 90: Citizens for Citizens" introduced its leading candidates for the People's Chamber elections in Berlin at a news conference today. Marianne Birthler (Initiative for Human Rights/IFM), Professor Dr. Jens Reich (New Forum), and Dr. Wolfgang Ullman and Konrad Weiss (both Democracy Now) are campaigning for the IFM, New Forum, and Democracy Now.

Konrad Weiss said at the news conference that the Democracy Now citizens' initiative wanted to propose that the Alliance nominate Dr. Ullman as candidate for the office of prime minister. Ullmann has been minister without portfolio in Premier Modrow's government of national responsibility since early February.

Socialist Workers Federation To Enter Elections

LD0902180990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1307 GMT 9 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Federation of Socialist Workers (BSA) intends to take part in the elections to the GDR People's Chamber, BSA National Secretary Ulrich Rippert said at a news conference in Berlin today. The aim of the Trotskyite, pan-German organization's participation in the election is to mobilize the working class in the GDR for a revolutionary program against Stalinist bureaucracy and against the danger of a restoration of capitalism, and on this basis to unite with the working class in the FRG and throughout Europe, he said when outlining the federation's program.

"The capitalist banks and concerns, which this century have already organized two world wars and Hitlerite fascism, are not coming to the GDR to bring prosperity and peace, but to subject the workers to brutal impoverishment as in Poland, Hungary, or China, and to create a reservoir of cheap labor for their trade wars for the internal European market and the world market," a statement issued at the news conference says. "The BSA calls upon the working class to defend all the social achievements won in the past against such a restoration of capitalism. It opposes all reductions in jobs, price increases, the removal of subsidies, the increased pace of work, and the complete devaluation of all the savings of the working class that is planned with the monetary union," it continues. The BSA appeals to the working class to build up its own organs of power and workers' councils that are elected in the factories and residential areas.

The Federation of Socialist Workers is the German section of the Fourth International founded by Leo Trotsky, which today is led by the International Committee of the Fourth International.

Commission Gives Vote to Citizens Abroad

LD2202194290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1743 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—After lengthy debate about the agenda, the GDR election commission decided in Berlin today to set up constituencies for GDR citizens working abroad. They are to be applied for by embassies, consulates, and enterprises with a certain concentration of persons. These applicaitons will be referred via the Foreign Ministry to the election commission, which will ultimately make a decision. In the discussion, it was stressed that the parties and associations contesting the election in the GDR will be able to promulgate their aims abroad.

Earlier, legal experts explained the electoral law and electoral decree. They referred in particular to the fundamental renewal of the country's electoral system.

Dr. Hans-Andreas Schoenfeldt (FDJ) [Free German Youth] and Peter Bickardt (Democracy Now) were elected as press spokespersons for the commission.

Free Democratic Party Political Broadcast

LD2302101190

[Editorial Report] East Berlin Television Service in German at 1850 GMT on 22 February carries a 15-minute party political broadcast by the Free Democratic Party [FDP].

The presenter introduces the chairman and vice chairman of the FDP Laender Council, as well as the chairman of the Mecklenberg FDP. The chairman explains the history of the party's founding. He is asked about the liberal alliance and why it came about. The chairman says they will put up a joint list of candidates, but the parties will remain independent.

He is then asked about Germany policy. He says they are in favor of a united Germany in a common European home. He says the moves toward a united Germany will help the unification of Europe. They recognize the Polish western frontier. He says there is nothing to fear from a democratic, united Germany.

The presenter then asks about economic policy. The FDP is in favor of the Bundesbank taking over the currency and private ownershp being the dominant form of ownership. The social market economy is the cornerstone of their policy. They are in favor of helping the socially weak. They answer social fears about change by saying they are unjustified because of this. They will maintain the value of savings and pensions.

De Maiziere Nominated as Top CDU Candidate

LD2502164990 Hamburg DPA in German 1427 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—GDR Christian Democratic Union [CDU] Chairman Lothar de Maiziere was nominated in East Berlin today as leading candidate for his party in the People's Chamber elections on 18 March.

The party Executive elected him unanimously, according to information from participant circles. The entire CDU list of candidates was also approved. It is based on the decisions of the area and state party congresses.

The CDU resolved to form an electoral alliance under the title "Alliance for Germany" with the German Social Union [DSU] and the Democratic Awakening.

Comments on Campaign

LD2502231190 Hamburg DPA in German 1623 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—The GDR Christian Democratic Union [CDU] is going into the final phase in the campaign for the first free elections in the GDR on 18 March with Chairman Lothar de Maiziere (49) as its leading candidate. De Maiziere was nominated unanimously by the party executive in East Berlin today. However, De Maiziere told journalists after the meeting that there would not be a linked list with the German Social Union [DSU] and Democratic Awakening [DA]. The CDU, DSU, and DA are joined in an Alliance for Germany.

The election law sets out that the candidates must be elected at secret representative assemblies. This would have been possible only at joint party conferences in the 15 electoral districts, and for that there was no longer sufficient time, the CDU chairman said. The Alliance for Germany had common aims and was striving for a joint government. De Maiziere declined to speak about coalitions with other parties, but he once again counted out the possibility of working with the Party of Democratic Socialism, the former Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

The Executive also decided the lists of candidates for the electoral districts. Women and young people have promising positions on the lists and had good chances of entering the new People's Chamber. De Maiziere rejected a quota arrangement, and reported increasing bitterness and attacks in the election campaign. CDU branches had been vandalized and there had been a bomb threat at the CDU headquarters. CDU placards were being pasted over with disparaging messages such as: "Exploitation is a Christian duty, so vote CDU, DSU, and DA."

Says Roundtable 'Superfluous'

LD2502205490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1510 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The central roundtable had acquired a significance that no longer accords with its actual concern, Christian Democratic Union [CDU] Chairman Lothar de Maiziere told his party's Executive in Berlin on Sunday. He said that some things were debated at the roundtable and carried over into government activity that were no longer backed by large portions of the population.

The politicians, who assessed the general political situation in the country as more tense, said that such involvement by the roundtable in the work of the government would be superfluous after 18 March. The purpose of the first free and secret elections consisted in bringing into being a People's Chamber and so electing a government that would have to solve all the country's problems.

The election campaign, agriculture policy, and a program for the economy were main areas of focus in the discussion that followed the chairman's remarks. [passage omitted]

The party Executive continued its discussion in closed session. On the agenda were the nomination of the CDU candidates for the People's Chamber elections.

National Roundtable Opens 14th Session

LD2602083890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0801 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The central GDR roundtable met this morning in Niederschoenhausen Castle in Berlin for its 14th session since it was founded on 7 December last year. Focal point of the debate this morning is the future cultural policy of the GDR. Minister of Culture Dietmar Keller came to take part in the discussion of this point on the agenda. ADN learned from the office that in the afternoon the topics of military reform and ecology, as well as individual motions, are to be discussed.

The discussions of the representatives of 16 parties and movements are once again being broadcast live by GDR radio and television.

Culture Minister Speaks

LD2602092990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0911 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—State cultural policy means the promotion of art and artists, GDR Culture Minister Dr. Dietmar Keller stated today to representatives of the roundtable. State financing of culture is an inalienable prerequisite for cultural development. The political and ideological freedoms of the development of literature and art made possible by the change should not be restricted again by economic fetters. Economic censorship should not take the place of political censorship. The minister emphasized that art should not be lowered to the level of a commodity. Therefore, an economically tenable cultural system is urgently required and he supported the artists' call for a law on the financing of culture.

PDS on Labor Conditions

LD2602102890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0955 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Party of Democratic Socialism called at the roundtable today for the drafting of a law on the working environment. The party felt impelled to make this proposal on the basis of relevant analyses that show that most GDR workers have to work in shameful conditions. Thirty-seven percent of the workers in the material production sphere have to work under conditions that pose a threat to health. Ninety percent of all jobs show shortcomings in the job composition and over 40 percent of workers are forced to adopt tiring positions during their work. Thirty percent of all industrial and office equipment is not in working order and must be replaced immediately. Sixty percent of the furnishings of workplaces and workrooms is more than 10 to 15 years old. The decades-long neglect of the working culture in the GDR has led to a lag of some 30 years behind the international standard in West Europe in this area. For the drafting of the law on the working environment, analysis should be made in particular of the corresponding Swedish and FRG legislation.

Honecker Put 75 Million DM in Own Account

LD2502123690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1127 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Excerpt] Berlin/Hamburg (ADN)—The application by the GDR Attorney General's Office for an arrest warrant against Erich Honecker does indeed contain the accusation that the former state and party leader transferred the 75 million Deutsche marks paid last year alone to the GDR by Bonn for the release of political prisoners into an account at the Deutsche Handelsbank in Berlin, to which only he had access. The Attorney General's Office's press office confirmed this in response to an ADN enquiry. [passage omitted]

Independent Women's Association Established

AU2302093690 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Feb 90 p 1

[Fricke/Schmidtke report: "Independent Women's Association Advocates Social Charter"]

[Text] Berlin—With the election of 11 spokeswomen, the founding congress of the Independent Women's Association (UFV) was concluded in Berlin on 17 February. The delegates adopted the statute, program, and a joint election platform with the Greens Party. The UFV sees itself as the union of autonomous womens' groups, initiatives, and projects and of individual women and works for a nonviolent, democratic, ecologically stable, socially just, and multicultural world.

The social situation, especially of women, would be drastically endangered by the GDR's quick anschluss to the FRG. Thus, the unification of the German nation must be a mutual reform process that respects the internal sovereignty of the two German states and requires a social charter, it was stated.

Homosexuals' Association Established

AU2302093490 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Feb 90 p 1

[Text] Leipzig—With the objective of equality of homosexual men before the law, the "Gays' Association of the GDR" (SVD) has been established in Leipzig.

Subsidies for Newspapers To Be Abolished

AU2302111490 East Berlin
BERLINER ALLGEMEINE in German 21 Feb 90 p 1

[ADN report: "Newspapers More Expensive as of April"]

[Excerpt] East Berlin—As a result of the planned abolition of subsidies worth millions of marks and because of production costs that have risen considerably, newspapers and magazines will become more expensive in April.

The price of the popular MORGENPOST will be increased by 70 pfennig to one mark. BERLINER ZEITUNG will cost 50 pfenning instead of 15. BERLINER ALLGEMEINE will have to follow this trend. However, a date for a price hike has not yet been set. [passage omitted]

New Bimonthly Political Journal Published

AU1002211690 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Feb 90 p 5

[Georg Lenzner report: "Not Just a New Layout"]

[Excerpt] A new bimonthly journal has appeared on the market. Its name is INITIAL. ZEITSCHRIFT FUER POLITIK UND GESELLSCHAFT [INITIAL. JOURNAL FOR POLITICS AND SOCIETY]. It replaces SOWJETWISSENSCHAFT [SOVIET SCIENCE], a journal that had become increasingly popular over the past few years. Apart from the new title and layout, it also, and above all, wants to provide new coverage. [passage omitted]

Horn Anxious Over 'Uncertain' USSR Situation

LD2302102290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] The Hungarian foreign minister says that the Soviet Union's uncertain internal situation will gradually disrupt the country's economy, the consequences of which will be also felt by our homeland. Speaking to MAGYAR HIRLAP, Gyula Horn expressed his anxiety that the disintegrating Soviet Union could cause serious problems for the East European states.

Democratic Forum Calls for Soviet Pullout

LD2402210890 Budapest MTI in English 1947 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 24 (MTI)—The Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF) will represent a right-of-centre policy in the pluralistic parliament. The forum's conceptions of government are similar to those of the West German CDU (Christian Democratic Union), Jozsef Antall, HDF president, told Hungarian, Austrian and Slovak journalists in Gyor on Saturday.

Mr Antall said the HDF demanded the soonest possible pullout of the Soviet troops from Hungary. He added that the forum would remain an advocate of fostering and strengthening Hungarian-Soviet economic, social and political relations but this would not require the stationing of foreign troops in the country, he said.

Horn Further Explains Remarks on NATO

LD2502130890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0730 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Text] [Announcer] The Hungarian foreign minister's statement at a scientific conference created quite a sensation. According to him, Hungary's possible membership in NATO is not inconceivable.

What is the opinion of Ruediger Hartmann, German diplomat and leader of the FRG delegation at the Vienna arms reduction talks? Zsold Szalay asked him on the phone:

[Begin recording] [Szalay] What do you have to say to the remark a few days ago by Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn that at some time in the future Hungary could be a member of the NATO political organization?

[Ruediger, in German with superimposed Hungarian translation] It is a very interesting thought and reflects the possibility of development that could lead to the end of the military systems. In my opinion, your foreign minister was not speaking of today's NATO, but a NATO that in the not too distant future will develop from the present military alliance as a result of the progress recently begun.

In this context, I can envision a Hungary that, let us say, will be part of a security system in which, besides the Western states, East European countries will participate, at least, certain East European countries. [end recording]

[Announcer] Let us hear the most competent person. How does Gyula Horn interpret his own statement? Jozsef P. Szabo interviewed the foreign minister:

[Begin recording] [Szabo] Gyula Horn's remarks about Hungary's possibly joining NATO created a mixed reaction in the world. The Soviet deputy foreign affairs spokesman said recently in connection with this that the Warsaw Pact countries are seeking relations with NATO both on political and military grounds, which corresponds to our Soviet political approach, too.

[Horn] In my view, this concept basically was received favorably. Of course, I would add right away that if one outlines one's ideas about the Europe of the future, that does not mean that Hungary officially announces its wish to join NATO.

Let me say this as an example that almost every political party without exception, as well as the Hungarian Government, stresses the importance of the idea that Hungary should at some time become a member of the EC, although we have not submitted any sort of application request in Brussels. Hungarian foreign politics fundamentally needs not only to concretely analyze the developed situation but also to try to foresee future developments. It is possible that given these provisions, endeavors sometimes appear that seem to many to be illusions, but the events of the past one-and-a-half to two years prove that when we could think independently—naturally, taking international reality and the demands arising from it into consideration—we could always take steps that, in the first instances, were shocking, mainly here, in Central Europe. But eventually, they not only served the interests of Hungary, but also the interests of international cooperation and international security.

This is precisely why I emphasized at the political scientists conference that if we take it seriously that the opposition has to be broken down—and a very serious opposition at that—which has characterized relations between NATO and the Warsaw Pact for decades, then ideological and many other questions that form the basis of the opposition have to be rethought.

Why could we not strive for a kind of very constructive and close cooperation with NATO, which we practically consider today as a partner and not an enemy as it used to be within the Warsaw Pact. It is not enough to talk about this and dream about this; there is a fundamental need for us to take concrete steps. This is why I mentioned that we started a very constructive dialogue a few years ago with one of the most important organizations of NATO, the North Atlantic Assembly, and this dialogue has more and more been transformed into a very close relation.

It is my conviction that the road of progress for us is not only to strive for a close connection with the North Atlantic Assembly and the political, consultative, and

other organizations of NATO, but also perhaps we should strive for common membership. By common, of course, I mean that progress can take a direction where, without touching upon military topics within the relation of the two allied systems, the intention and possibility of political consultation and cooperation should be confirmed in a common membership. [end recording]

HDF Official Discusses Political Situation

AU2302140490 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 16 Feb 90 p 6

[Interview with Zoltan Biro, former acting chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum and chief editor of HITEL, by Lajos Pogonyi; place and date not given: "This Nation Counted on Something Else"]

[Excerpts] [Pogonyi] Zoltan Biro is currently member of the National Presidium of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [HDF]. How do you feel in the period of peaceful transition?

[Biro] I feel bad, just as does the majority of the population. This nation counted on something else. I thought that, in a not-too-long transitional period, we would be able to create a democratic parliament. I do not want to present the HDF as some sort of a prophet, but, as early as November 1988, we were already demanding the creation of an interim constitutional national assembly. When we saw that there was no chance for such an assembly, we urged holding advanced elections. Hungary is in a terrible situation today, and we could have been spared a lot of this situation.

[Pogonyi] In your view, who is to be blamed for all this, since the state party as such has been dismantled in one way or another.

[Biro] Everyone is responsible. Neither the opposition parties nor the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] supported us at the time. The parties were too selfish.

[Pogonyi] That is, they were not ready to compete.

[Biro] Yes, but we openly admitted that the HDF was also not prepared for the elections. Half a year ago, a free parliament would have enjoyed great confidence and would have been able to direct Hungary in a more secure direction.

[Pogonyi] The current government is under great pressure. There are opposition parties that are conducting a two-faced policy toward the Nemeth government.

[Biro] I do not find this a correct attitude. If a party is conducting a two-faced policy toward the current government, it is also causing damage to the country. Of course, one can question the government's financial policy, which, in my view, is not a good policy. At the same time, this government keeps afloat with an almost superhuman effort.

[Pogonyi] I do not think the reason for this is that the government does not want to relinquish power.

[Biro] No, I agree, because the country has no other alternative at present. More exactly, there is an alternative, namely: chaos. [passage omitted]

[Pogonyi] There are opposition parties that claim that we have been lagging behind the neighboring Eastern European countries, and we have slowed down.

[Biro] This is not true at all. They forget that the processes in the GDR, in the CSSR, or in Bulgaria were relatively risk-free because the Soviet and Polish, and last but not least, the Hungarian changes had prepared the ground for these changes. The emergence of various parties is only starting now in these countries, and I think this will take place everywhere.

[Pogonyi] Speaking of parties, did you welcome the transformation of the HDF into a party?

[Biro] This was not a question of welcoming or not welcoming. We ourselves demanded the creation of a multiparty system. When the HDF became a party, it regarded this as a destiny deriving from the internal laws of society. I am not against becoming a party, but I find it loathsome when a party subordinates the country's interests to its own interests. [passage omitted]

[Pogonyi] Which party will be your greatest opponent in the election?

[Biro] I can see two parties that could win votes away from us: the Smallholders Party and the Free Democrats. I think that the Hungarian Socialist Party is less dangerous for us in this respect.

[Pogonyi] Why?

[Biro] Simply because the public does not support them, and also because they continue to be regarded as Communists, just like the previous MSZMP. [passage omitted]

Antall Addresses HDF Election Rally

LD2502221590 Budapest MTI in English 1945 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 25 (MTI)—The Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF) has nominated a candidate in all the 176 constituencies of the country, and all candidates have collected thousands of recommendations (not only the required 750). Consequently, the HDF has put up regional lists and a national list as well, Executive Deputy President Sandor Lezsak told an election rally in the national sports hall of Budapest on Sunday.

Mr Lezsak said the HDF had almost 25,000 members and 408 local organizations throughout the country.

The first politician to address the rally was HDF President Jozsef Antall, who was to leave for Paris and Bonn to hold talks with senior French and West German politicians.

Mr Antall, greeting the guests of the rally, made special mention of the delegations of the Austrian People's Party and the West German Christian Democratic Union. In his address, Mr Antall laid emphasis on national unity, saying that harmony between Budapest and the provinces is an indispensable condition of this unity. Budapest should be assigned a new role in the future: it should become a centre of East-central Europe, and the seat of big international organizations, Mr Antall said.

What Hungary faces is not a single change in government but a grandiose, nationwide reconstruction which can only be compared to the removal of ruins after the second World War, Mr Antall said. Good experts will be in demand but, in the course of a major transformation like that, it cannot be promised that everyone will keep his post. If it depends on the HDF, everyone will find a place for himself in the new Hungary.

Mr Antall said the HDF would in no case form a big coalition with the HSP [Hungarian Socialist Party] since transformation would require a rotating political system.

The HDF advocates the great assets of Christian democracy and accepts the role of the right centre, which is represented by the Christian democratic parties in Western Europe.

The HDF is an advocate of social market economy and privatization undher public control.

Concerning the eventual allies, Mr Antall shared the position of the Alliance of Free Democrats, namely that the two parties' coalition would only be a forced marriage. It would not be good for either side and the HDF has not any apsiration like that.

MSZP Election Discussion Broadcast

LD2202223590

[Editorial Report] Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 1900 GMT on 21 February carries a 60-minute election discussion program on behalf of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP]. The program takes the form of brief introductory comments by the participants followed by questions from a studio audience.

the MSZP is represented by: Imre Pozsgay, Gyula Horn, Rezso Nyers, Mrs. Robert Jakab, Janos Petrenko and Imre Olajos.

Rezso Nyers starts the proceedings, saying that the MSZP is an October Party and is the continuation of the Hungarian reform movements that started in the 1950's, gaining greater or lesser influence in the following years up to the 1980's, when they fundamentally determine the situation and future of Hungary. The reformers in the MSZP "couple socialism with the most complete democracy," and "strive in Hungary for a socialism in the European sense, and for social democratic ideals." They have 50,000 party members, and they offer their services to the workers, to the Hungarian nation. They are searching for the way to make Hungary a modern market economy, but with an appropriate social policy that is not a mere balance to the disadvantages of a market economy, but is an institutionalized policy that is organically linked to economic policy. Both the mechanics and the spirit of democracy must be established in Hungary: "We mean democracy in the most complete sense, we do not see it just as a voting technique." They do not claim to represent all the points of views of all the interests of all people in the nation, but are "one among the expressions of interests of the Hungarian nation." They are an indispensable part of this, and will play an indispensable part in the future too.

Imre Pozsgay then says that "the socialist party can be a determining force in future Hungarian political society." For the first time in many years, there is a chance to halt what was a tragic break in Hungarian history—the time has come to pass beyond this dilemma. People want progressive change, but change with stability. This way of thinking had a part, in Pozsgay's opinion, in the success of the socialist party's candidacy campaign. They have "won the backing of the voting citizen so that, apart from perhaps one or two districts, the MSZP will field its own candidates." The state party was "dismantled from inside" by this party in its movement toward reform, and with this it opened the path to openness in Hungarian society. These are components of the socialist party that will find approval and votes.

After this, Gyula Horn says he is convinced that the left wing is not just a European but a world phenomenon, and as both Europe and the world need the left wing, so does the Hungarian nation so that after the elections "balanced power relations can be created in this country." The left wing represented by the MSZP is "modern and formulates new thoughts and new endeavors." It played a pioneering role in recent years, which resulted in the multiparty system being achieved in Hungary in Eastern Europe. Hungary was the first also to take steps in the direction of independent decisions and fully used this opportunity. This pioneering role must continue, the task now being how to turn a central, state ownership-dominated, plan-oriented system, into a market economy.

Mrs. Jaklab then says that the MSZP is the party of women, of minorities, of people who want stability.

Janos Petrenko says that the MSZP conducted a successful bloodless revolution, and as an entrepreneur he believes in this party because it supports competition and economic revival. He belives in competition, including competition between parties in a multiparty system.

Imre Olajos states that the MSZP is the party of the workers that has found its basis of support in both town and countryside.

In reply to a question about public assets, Nyers says that the sale of public property below value prices must be condemned. This must be done through proper competition, and this is one of the basic tenets of the property reform. Foreign capital is urgently needed in the country, but unfortunately here the competition system is not working well enough, thus at times, state supervision is needed.

Another questioner asks why Imre Pozsgay did not leave the party when Bihari et al were expelled in 1988, and form his own, strong opposition. Pozsgay replies that the time was not right then, the atmosphere was not what it is today, when the path breaking has already been accomplished. At the time, they had to work as "an internal political force," very consciously, for the party itself to declare the cessation of the party-state exercising power. Steps had to be taken slowly; they had to see the reactions, messages from neighboring countries, to test whether the Brezhnev doctrine was still alive. At the time, they were risking themselves in changing their views, now people are changing their views in order not to put themselves at risk.

A questioner refers to social tension among the population because of price increases and inflation, saying there is a real danger of unrest. Pozsgay says that at the national summit the government asked for the cooperation of parties on such intractable questions, but "since then, it seems that some of the parties wish to distance themselves from the that agreement." Rezso Nyers says there is a danger that inflation will not be kept at the prescribed level, but a higher, self-generating process will take root in inflation. The MSZP opposes this, and thinks prices and wages must be handled together. Horn adds that the government has decided to examine price increases very carefully, for there are some increases that are unjustified. The MSZP has a social market economy as its aim. A start has been made toward the market economy, but the social side is missing. This is the basic task, to find a way to alleviate social problems, without putting a brake on the development of a market economy. Social solidarity is needed for this.

Pozsgay urges all citizens to vote, he says this is the most important thing now, that they should make use of their voting rights.

In reply to a question about whom the MSZP would form a coalition with, Pozsgay says the MSZP does have some ideas about this, but it is clear that no coalition can be made before the elections. The MSZP envisions a resolute government supported by a strong parliament, in which the main political currents of the nation must be present. The MSZP is "the most democratic party," because it remains open to talks with all political forces.

Pozsgay agrees with the observation of a member of the audience that people still associate the MSZP with the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], but says that the MSZP really has changed, and only its political enemies encourage this association. People who do not believe that people can change force a terror of opinion on people. The MSZP has proved with its deeds that it has implemented a fundamental change.

Asked why, if the MSZP is distinct from the MSZMP, they are the inheritors of their assets, Nyers denies this: "We have handed back 90 percent of the MSZMP's real estate assets to the state."

Finishing off, the presenter asks the participants what percentage of votes they are counting on. Horn says significantly more than many parties expect; Nyers says this depends on the voters; and Pozsgay says the MSZP will be among the first four parties.

Pozsgay, Nyers Address Election Rally

LD2402211790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] [Announcer] The socialists chose Szekesfehervar as the scene of their election rally. Klara Babitski reports:

[Babitski] The Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP], said Imre Pozsgay, pledges to realize the slogans of progress and security. This country would be poorer and weaker without us. We undertake service, Imre Pozsgay concluded.

Chairman Rezso Nyers also emphasized in his speech that the MSZP made firm roots in Hugnary and it is here to stay. Our members, said Rezso Nyers, know where they come from. This past, which is represented by the Socialist Party is guiltless and unblemished. It is a lie to say that the Hungarian reform movement of 30 years is a garden where no flower grows because it is entwined with communism.

National Party Makes Political Broadcast

LD2302132890

[Editorial Report] Budapest Television Service in Hungarian at 1945 GMT on 22 February carries a five-minute political party broadcast of the Hungarian National Party.

An unidentified speaker condemns the unethical actions of the electoral campaign, such as tearing down posters and the abuses with the questionnaires.

The speaker says that the Hungarian National Party is a member of the Christian National Union. It does not adhere to the view that faith and religion are only for Sundays and should not interfere in everyday politics. The way of life dictated by God is fundamental, and party members think and act in this spirit, serving the homeland.

In the new Europe, with a united Germany, a new economic situation will be created, says the speaker. To ensure Central Europe is not forgotten, in what will be

the dominance of Western Europe and Germany, an economically strong Central Europe must be created with our neighbors, primarily with the country with which we are linked historically, Austria. With an Austro-Hungarian economic union, the role of Western Europe and Germany could be counterbalanced, he says. The party considers it important that Hungarian agriculture once again become important in Europe, and this could be achieved in collaboration with Austria. Unemployment could be ended, and well-being and security guaranteed, for all, the speaker concludes.

Gypsy Party Association's Political Broadcast

LD2302135890

[Editorial Report] Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 1130 GMT on 23 February carries a five-minute political party broadcast of the Hungarian Gypsy Party Association.

The broadcast commences with traditional Gypsy singing. (Sandor Joni) introduces himself as the general secretary of the Hungary Gypsy Party (MCP). He says there are approximately 800,000 Gypsies, who have not hitherto been adequately represented on the parliamentary level. His party would like to represent these people, together with the other Gypsy organizations working with them. The MCP has received information about abuses with questionnaires in some districts, and insists that there must not be such opportunities for abuse at the next elections.

(Joni) says that the Gypsy Party wishes to create workplaces for people who have lost their jobs. It calls on young people of Gypsy descent who are studying in high schools or universities to contact the party. The party wishes to help them so that later they, too, will be able to help the party.

MCP Secretary Sandor Molnar speaks next. He is also a candidate in the elections. He recalls the past fate of the Gypsies, which is not much heard about in the press; the Gypsies who fought with Hungarians and died in World War II; those who were deported; those who were taken prisoner and could not return to their families. The past 45 years must not be forgotten, says Molnar. The Gypsies, too, were promised lands, but this did not materialize and they were forced to the cities for survival. Gypsies cannot exist without the help of Hungarians, their fate is interlinked.

Molnar says Gypsies were excluded up to now from legislative work, and they wish to remedy this with as many deputies in the new parliament as possible. They wish to represent not just people of Gypsy descent, but the strata that is in need—peasantry and the working class. He calls on everyone to go and vote despite the abuses, for without this a democratic Hungary cannot be envisioned.

Alliance of Free Democrats Chooses Chairman

LD2302150790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] The Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] has chosen Janos Kis as its accredited party chairman. A decision on the permanent party chairman will be made at a delegate meeting convened after the elections. Janos Kis is not standing at the parliamentary elections because he believes there must be a distinction between the party leader and the leader of the organization's parliamentary group. The SZDSZ has proposed Peter Toelgyessy for this office.

Toelgyessy said that he hoped the Alliance of Free Democrats would be the country's biggest party after the elections. To date, the Free Democrats have obtained the necessary number of nominating slips in all 176 individual constitutencies.

Kis Discusses Europe

LD2402222290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 24 Feb 90

[From the "168 Hours" program]

[Text] Which way, East Europe? This was the subject of a discussion organized by the French paper LIBERATION in Paris with the participation of representatives from West and East European newspapers and public information organizations. In addition to them, well-known politicians were also among those invited, including the Czech and Romanian premiers and Gregor Gysi, Willy Brandt, Adam Michnik, and Michel Rocard. Hungary was represented by Janos Kis [chairman of the Alliance of Free Democrats]. Zoltan Farkas interviewed him.

[Begin recording] [Farkas] It can be said for every country that the Communist Party has lost ground and new parties appeared on the political stage. Therefore, at an international discussion, is it possible to come to an agreement on what type of political parties and of what complexion are likely to come into power in these East European countries. What kind of suggestions were heard?

[Kis] Obviously, for the two halves of Europe to approach each other politically, it is not only necessary that the political organization of East Europe, the constitutional organization of the East European countries, become similar to the West European ones, but it is also necessary that the party structures should be similar too, that there should be structures in East Europe corresponding to the large European organizations. At the same time, it is very interesting that most East European contributors, Adam Michnik, for example, or Petr Pithart, who is now the premier of the Czech republic—earlier he was a signatory of Charter-77 and participated in the movement—and myself as well, tried to draw attention to the point that it would be premature to try to

find close resemblances and that West European political parties are making a mistake when they try to find those resembling them in East Europe on the basis of nominal similarities.

We drew attention to the point that the center of the political stage in Eastern Europe is occupied at present not by those parties that existed in the period before 1948 and that would directly correspond in name to the great West European parties, the Christian Democrats, the Social Democrats, and so on, but by political formations that have their historical origins in the past 10-15 years, that is in the period when the disintegration of the totalitarian orders began in our region and there was an opportunity for the formation of originally nonparty type movements. On this, there was perhaps a certain unspoken dispute between Pithart, Michnik, and myself. They seemed to be inclined perhaps to the view that in East Europe the political structure will be different from that in the West on a long-term basis; the center will be occupied by not truly party-like organizations, but this, in my view, reflects the fact that neither in Poland nor in Czechoslovakia have the parties had the chance to become really independent. I rather hold the view, and this is much nearer to the situation in Hungary, that parties understood in the traditional sense will exercise parliamentary politics, and we are not really at the same stage. Hungary is nearest to having a center left and a center right. In Poland these are at present operating under the same umbrella, under the umbrella of Solidarity, and also in Czechoslovakia the framework of the Civic Forum is decisive. Compared to this, the difference between the parties are not really significant.

[Farkas] Europe, and the world, have more or less accepted that Germany very soon will be unified. It is not indifferent, however, within what borders, and who will decide about the fate of the new Germany, or who will take part in the negotiations. How was this raised during the discussions?

[Kis] It is obvious that, for the Poles, the prospect of German unification raises serious concerns, not so much the fact that the two parts of Germany will be united, not so much the appearance of a large Germany on the western borders of Poland, but rather the circumstance that some of the leading Western politicians in office, primarily Chancellor Kohl, are not in a hurry to make an an unequivocal statement on the question of Germany's borders.

[Farkas] Allow me to say to this that he does not have to hurry. I am saying this from the viewpoint that an overhasty statement within the FRG could distance millions of sympathizers from him.

[Kis] Well, that is precisely the issue; Professor Geremek reacted with great concern. He said at this conference that it would be very very alarming if Germany's responsible political leaders did not speak on such a cardinal issue precisely because they feared that they would lose votes because of this. That is, if the stand the German Government takes on the matter of Germany's eastern borders depends on the outcome of the elections at the time that Germany's eastern neighbors cannot feel themselves to be secure. This is the reason that the Poles insist so firmly on their participation in an international conference to be held on the German issue.

[Farkas] From a Hungarian foreign policy perspective, from the perspective of current Hungarian foreign policy and that which will he pursued in the future, what ought to be done? Should this endeavor of Poland's be supported, that there will be no agreement on Germany without Polish participation, or to the contrary, shouldn't the unification of Germany be supported? Or are the two not mutually exclusive?

[Kis] Regarding German reunification, I would say that it is a fact and we must support it. What we should mean by reunification or unification is another matter. Should we mean that the state borders between the two Germanies after 1949 will cease to exist, that these two Germanies will be joined in a unified state, or that these two Germanies will be unified, and afterward there will be discussion with their neighbors on the fate of the previous German territories that belonged to Germany in 1937, not not in 1945?

[Farkas] Rather frightening things would follow from that.

[Kis] The possibility must be barred of anyone regarding the European borders that have developed as being questionable.

[Farkas] Is that so for every border?

[Kis] Obviously, the disintregation of the Soviet Union inevitably opens certain parentheses, and I whould not like to take a stand regarding this. But in my judgement, what lies to the west of the western borders of the Soviet Union cannot be queried without a Balkanization of our entire region and the evocation of the danger of a war in Europe. It would not by any means be wise on the part of the Hungarians for us to support in any way, in the hope of possible border adjustments—that is in the hope of a possible adjustment of our own borders—that kind of ambivalence, which, by the way, in my view will very quickly disappear from German Government policy.

An entirely different matter is that the borders must lose their significance for the people living on both sides, somehow, as has happened continuously in Western Europe in past decades.

[Farkas] In many cases, we are better able to conceive of borders that are more easily crossed between, let us say, East and West Europe, than between some of the countries of East Europe. One of the guests of this conference was Romanian Premier Petre Roman. Obviously, the Hungarian-Romanian issue also arose. Did Janow Kis hear anything from Petre Roman that might be indicative for us regarding this?

[Kis] There was a one-hour roundtable discussion in the studio of the French television company Antenne-2. Here the situation of the minorities in Romania entered the discussion. In essence, he took the stand that what had happened with the Hungarian minority and generally with the minorities during the Ceausescu regime should be condemend, that the new regime is abolishing every form of national oppression, and that it is handling every nationality on an equal basis.

In connection with this, I said that we value highly the intention, but we must not keep quiet about its being far from possible to regard the situation as resolved. In essence, the moment that the Hungarian minority in Romania began to step out as an independent factor after the victory of the revolution and it began to demand back the rights and privileges that it once had, for example, the complete restoration of Hungarian-language teaching, this immediately ran into nationalistic opposition. To this very day, the government has not had the strength to take action against this.

[Farkas] What did Petre Roman say to that?

[Kis] He acknowledged the justness of these demands, but it appeared to me that he did not feel himself to be in a situation of being able to take a stand.

[Farkas] Is his position too weak to order the Romanian government to take a cardinal stand, what is more to undertake a series of cardinal actions, on such a delicate issue?

[Kis] Perhaps I could describe his position by saying that while it appears to all of us that the internal situation in Romanian has become greatly destabilized, he staved off questions regarding this since the revolution ended.

[Farkas] Wouldn't it be necessary for Hungary, or a future Hungarian government, clearly to formulate its stand on the inviolability of the European borders?

[Kis] I consider this necessary, but by all means in the framework of a statement that makes it unequivocal that the existing borders can be final only in the event that they lose their significance. We can resign ourselves to the finality of the borders only if we feel there is a guarantee that it is all the same for a Hungarian—how should I put it—whether he lives in Debrecen or Timisoara, and I also told the Romanian premier this. A separate, mini-exchange of views developed out of this, because he believed that after all I wanted to urge, here, some kind of border revision. [end recording]

Radical Party Chairman Gives Election Address

LD2402101790

[Editorial Report] Budapest Television Service in Hungarian at 1905 GMT on 23 February carries a five-minute party political broadcast on behalf of the Hungarian Radical Party.

The program opens with music and is followed by an address by party Chairman Mihaly Rozsa. He says that the Hungarian Radical Party is a party of people who are different, and admit to being so. His party has no confidence in the coming election, he says, as it will not be democratic while there is an occupying power in the country, and also because nomination slips have people's names and addresses on them, which offends people's personal rights. After stating that the best thing to do with the slips is "this," the sound of tearing paper is heard. He goes on to ask the electorate to boycott the elections. Pointing out that the Radical Party does not promise to give back land or to stop inflation because it does not want to mislead people, but only tell the truth, he says that the party wants to represent the people in parliament and elsewhere. He calls for a ban on the Communist Party and fascists. He ends his address by saying: "We want to live in a free, independent, happy Hungary. We promise the Hungarian people we will solve the Gypsy question. Our children should grow up happy, and laughing. If you feel you can trust us, vote for us. Perhaps we will win the election. Our victory will be yours."

'Patriotic Electoral Coalition' Rally Held

LD2402171890 Budapest MTI in English 1633 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 24 (MTI)—Although in 1989 Hungary attracted 600 million dollars worth of foreign investment capital to the country, it had to transfer 500 million dollars back to the investors. A growing number of contracts turn out to be disadvantageous for the Hungarian side, Laszlo Asztalos, national president of the Patriotic Electoral Coalition and head of department at the Ministry of Finance, told an election rally in Nyiregyhaza on Saturday.

Mr Asztalos said the 120 candidates of the Patriotic Electoral Coalition had received more than 130,000 recommendations.

Association of Nonparty People Airs Stance

LD1902114390

[Editorial Report] Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 0520 GMT on 19 February carries an election campaign broadcast by the Association of Hungarian Nonparty People.

An unidentified speaker says that because of wrong decisions taken over the past 40 years the people have been devastated. Now they have had enough of their misery. They see where party politics has led them and they no longer believe in promises. If left to themselves, they have always shown their ability to prosper. However, the small parties cannot solve all the problems by themselves. Waiting for manna from abroad has too high a cost. What is needed now is a national joining of forces to lead the country toward a better future. The country must have a new parliament and a new government,

MP's equipped with the necessary knowledge and wisdom to run the country's affairs.

The Association of Nonparty People does not charge subscriptions, has no office or headquarters, but it awaits with open arms all those willing and able to help the country in its hour of need.

Petrasovits Writes Letter to Nemeth

AU2302183590 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 20 Feb 90 p 3

[Undated letter from Anna Petrasovits, chairman of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party, to Premier Miklos Nemeth]

[Text] Given Hungary's economic situation, the government declared the program of restructuring last year, a program also supported by the SZDP [Hungarian Social Democratic Party]. One of the major points of this program is the retraining of manpower from eliminated enterprises and the creation of new jobs.

Our party welcomed the government measures aimed at creating new jobs, but we said that the budget resources allocated for this purpose were too small.

However, our party's county organizations reported especially from the affected areas that the basically well-intentioned government decisions became stranded because of the bureaucratic measures taken by county apparatuses and certain government officials.

We think, and it is one of the major election program goals of our party, that restructuring cannot take place without seasonal or final loss of jobs, but the current government or any government should show great responsibility in making sure that the manpower thus released are not forced into despair but can carry the heavy financial and psychological burden in the hope of a possible quick solution. Therefore, we draw your attention, Mr. Premier, to modify (out of turn) the regulations by adjusting them toward real life, and to refrain from setting up bureaucratic organizations; instead, you should organize a narrow bank-like office made up of professional managers who are in charge of dealing with the retraining funds, an office covering the three or four regional areas in question, making quick and the best decisions exclusively for the benefit of ventures.

You should not hinder the county apparatus in organizing investment and other offices from such budget resources, because this would only delay the implementation of decisions. This situation is particularly severe in Baranya county, where both the mining industry and some other industrial branches are now directly threatened, and only very few new jobs have been created so far from the almost 500 million forints allocated for this purpose.

We ask you, Mr. Premier, to kindly examine these matters and take urgent measures to improve this situation as soon as possible.

Respectfully,

Anna Petrasovits

Christian Democratic People's Party Rally Held

LD2502220590 Budapest MTI in English 1953 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 25 (MTI)—The Christian Democratic People's Party (CDPP) held an election rally in Gyongyos on Sunday. Speeches were delivered by Istvan Reisz, the party's local candidate, and Miklos Hasznos, CDPP chief attorney and member of the national leadership.

The CDPP is not a religious party, Mr Reisz said. The party seeks to establish an efficient local self-government.

Mr Hasznos pointed out that the CDPP was among the nine strongest parties of the country. He expressed the hope that Hungary would achieve without blood sacrifice what it had wanted to achieve since 1848: it would join the Christian, bourgeois Europe.

Parties Running in 25 Mar Elections Listed

LD2402171190 Budapest MTI in English 1600 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 24 (MTI)—Up to the deadline of 24 p.m. [as received] on Feburary 23, 1990, the following parties have announced their national lists for the parliamentary elections of March 25:

Agrarian Federation

Alliance of Free Democrats

Christian Democratic People's Party

Entrepreneur's Party

Federation of Young Democrats

Hungarian Democratic Forum

Hungarian People's Party

Hungarian Socialist Party

Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

Independent Smallholders' Party

Patriotic Electoral Coalition

Social Democratic Party of Hungary

The names of candidates featuring on the national lists will be announced not later than February 28.

The following nine parties have announced regional lists in Budapest:

Alliance of Free Democrats

Christian Democratic People's Party

Federation of Young Democrats

Hungarian Democratic Forum

Hungarian Socialist Party

Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

Independent Smallholders' Party

Patriotic Electoral Coalition

Social Democratic Party of Hungary

* Program for National Assembly February Session

25000620A Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 30 Jan 90 p 5

[MTI report: "February Session of National Assembly Convened"]

[Text] Pursuant to Article 22.(2) of the Constitution Istvan Fodor, acting president of the National Assembly, convened the next session of the Assembly to begin at 1000 hours, 27 February.

The body is expected to debate the following submissions:

—Legislative proposal concerning the discontinuation of the legal institution of blamelessness;

—Legislative proposal concerning adjudication under administrative law;

—Legislative proposal concerning an amendment to the constitution;

—Legislative proposal concerning representation of nationalities and minorities of a different language in the National Assembly;

—Legislative proposal concerning amendments to the enterprise law;

—Legislative proposal concerning amendments to the criminal code of laws;

—Legislative proposal concerning family supplements;

—Legislative proposal concerning amendments to the education law;

—Legislative proposal concerning the repeal of, and amendments to, certain laws and decrees having the force of law (deregulation of public administration).

National Assembly To Meet 14 Mar

LD2302154790 Budapest MTI in English 1504 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 23 (MTI)—Istavan Fodor, acting speaker of the Hungarian National Assembly, has convened the March session of Parliament for 10 am on Wednesday, March 14.

MP's will probably discuss the bills on declaring null and void the unlawful sentences passed between 1945 and 1963 and on invalidating resolutions which deprived people of their Hungarian citizenship.

Their legislative work over, MP's will hold a celebration to mark March 15, 1848, the outbreak of the bourgeois revolution and war of independence.

Rally Calls for Radar Project Cancellation

LD2402182890 Budapest MTI in English 1707 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 24 (MTI)—In an open letter addressed to Mikhail Gorbachev, Vaclav Havel, Ion Iliescu and Matyas Szuros, the participants in a rally staged on Saturday near Beregsurany at the Hungarian-Soviet border called upon the four heads of states concerned to declare the Carpathian basin a demilitarized zone, and guarantee free border crossing. They demanded to abandon the construction of the Pestrialovo radar station in Subcarpathia and called upon the governments concerned to conclude an agreement on the elimination of pollution. The participants demanded to set up an international control committee.

The organizers of the rally included the cultural federation of Hungarians in Subcarpathia, the Ukrainian People's Movement, the Subcarpathian organization of the Shevchenko Ukrainian language society, and the Federation of Carpathian Ukrainians.

The radar station constructed 20 km off Mukachevo is supposed to do a great harm to the environment, and endanger the health of the population in both Ukraine and the neighbouring states.

Vasil Shepa, corresponding member of the Soviet Academy of Agriculture, said: "Since the Carpathians filter air and determine the climate of the region, we should struggle for the whole Carpathian basin to become an ecologically sound region."

On Friday, the Soviet minister of defence ordered to suspend the construction of the radar station, Janos Ordodi, an electric engineer from Uzhgorod, said. Mr Ordodi is member of a 15-strong expert committee which will start talks on the radar statgion in Moscow on Monday. Mr Ordodi said the electromagnetic field the radar station would generate would destroy nature and the human environment and would have an effect on the territory of the neighbouring countries as well.

Change in Armed Forces Previewed

LD2302135490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Excerpts] A news conference has been held in the Defense Ministry about ideas relating to the strengthening of the national aspect of the Army. Janos Hollos reports.

[Begin Hollos recording] If approved by the National Assembly, then from next week the Hungarian Armed Forces will have a new name: Hungarian National Defense, instead of the Hungarian People's Army. A string of ideas lies behind the intention to change the name, which aim at having the ministry develop the national aspect of Hungarian national defense. In accordance with this, there is a completely new starting point for the training of the Army. Instead of the enemy concept of earlier decades, the fundamental idea now is that the Hungarian Republic does not have an enemy until somebody infringes her borders. As a consequence of this, new service and technical regulations are under preparation, which will be built on the statutes of the Hungarian Republic.

According to the plans, the soldiers will have new uniforms. Apart from this, the emblems, decorations, insignia and squadron flags will change. [passage omitted]

The rehabilitation of those condemned in 1956 is under way in the Army, and they are reviewing the names of corps. They are looking for new eponyms. After scarcely six months, the Defense Ministry's weekly magazine is to change again. From 15 March, it will appear under the name MAGYAR HONVED with a changed format and content.

At the news conference it was also mentioned that there are worries over conscription. Many people are asking for a deferment, naturally reckoning with the fact that, as is common knowledge, the 12-month period of service will soon be introduced in place of the present 18 months. This time, 10,000 fewer young people are being called up than usual, 14,000 conscripts in all. The reason for this is that in harmony with the scheduled troop reductions, some squadrons have been disbanded. [end recording]

Hungarian Defense Alliance Transformed

LD2502000590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] The Hungarian Defense Aliance [MHSZ] did not escape the great transformation either. It is trying to find its place in the changing Hungary with a new name and with new leadership. Andras Erdfalvi was present at the extraordinary general assembly.

[Begin Erdfalvi recording] Today's delegate meeting of the MHSZ lasted till the evening hours without an outbreak. The new successor organization was formed and the delegates could leave satisfied. The only serious problem was caused by the press, mainly last week's and today's midday radio program.

The acting chairman misinformed those present, thus the mood was turned against the press. After a short duel of words, it has come to light that part of the delegates feel that the press makes them responsible for the deformations. Thus, the present is rosy, but the future is uncertain because the Defense Ministry is beginning to gradually withdraw support. Great numbers of full-time employees will be dismissed, pensioned off, or transferred to other jobs. The membership is enthusiastic, the leadership clings to their jobs; the situation is more or less unchanged. So we are learning the new name: the name of the Alliance of Hungarian Technical and Mass Sport Clubs [magyar technikai es toemegsport klubbok szovetsege]. Its new chairman is Lorant Farkas; the executive is Dr. Oszkar Csepregi. [end recording]

General Denies Rumors on Selling Jet Fighters

AU1902145090 Budapest MTI in English 1505 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, 16 Feb (MTI)—The Japanese newspaper SANKEI SHIMBUN reported that Hungary was about to sell MiG 29 jet fighters to Iraq for 14 million dollars a piece.

Brigadier General Karoly Janza, head of one of the ministry of defence departments, has denied the news, saying that the Hungarian Army does not possess any MiG 29s.

At the same time, the brigadier general added Hungary did want to sell war technology devices which had became superfluous because of the troops and arms reductions.

These weapons, however, will be dismantled from the planes to serve exclusive peaceful purposes. [sentence as received]

For instance, disarmed T-34, T-54 and T-55 tanks are to be sold as agricultural power machines, and MiG 21 and MiG 23 planes, as well as KA-26 and MI-8 helicopters, as transport vehicles.

Ethnic Germans Claim War Compensation

LD2402210590 Budapest MTI in English 1835 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 24 (MTI)—The ethnic Germans who were deported from Hungary to Soviet forced labour camps in 1944-45, and their widows and orphans have laid a claim to rehabilitation and compensation. Addressing the Saturday session of the Federation of Germans in Hungary, their representatives recalled that 60,000 to 65,000 Hungarian citizens, mainly young people belonging to the German minority or simply having German names, had been deported to the Soviet Union after the second World War. Most of them were

mobilized for a harvest only but this "malenki rabot" turned into forced labour, lasting from one to five years. About 15,000-20,000 forced labourers had never returned to Hungary. Due to the illnesses contracted in the camps, about half of those who returned could only do light manual work and many of them died before retiring age.

After four decades, the state authorities put the rehabilitation of the aggreived on the agenda. The related resolution of parliament, however, made no mention of the Germans. The German minority holds it necesary for parliament to make every possible effort to provide, in keeping with the resources of the country, financial compensation for the deported and their heirs.

Bank President Outlines IMF Talks

LD2402223590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2300 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] At the session of the National Assembly Planning and Budget Committee, Hungarian National Bank President Ferenc Bartha informed the deputies about the country's financial situation. He said that talks are proceeding favorably with the International Monetary Fund. He outlined the contents of the letter of intent that the government has sent the IMF. This has promised that this year the deficit in the budget balance will not exceed 10 billion forints, and the deficit in the current payments balance will not be greater than $550 million. According to experts of the international financial institution, production ought to decrease, and 19 percent inflation is considered to be excessive.

Bartha reported that uncertainty has taken shape in the foreign financial markets concerning the evaluation of our country. Indeed, reports have spread that the new government intends to announce the country's insolvency. According to the bank president, this is why it would be necessary for the significant parties to assure the foreign creditors that they will continue the rigorous economic policy of the current government.

Trade Union Spokesman on Social Pact Aims

LD2202140290

[Editorial Report] Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 0545 GMT on 22 February broadcasts a five-minute inteview with Csaba Oeri, spokesman of the Democratic League of Independent Trade Unions, DLITU.

The interviewer notes that from the time of its inception the DLITU has been perceived to be extremely radical and to adopt a tougher line against the government. He notes that now it is the National Council of Trade Unions, SZOT, that is increasingly initiating strikes and demonstrations. Oeri, he says, is being interviewed to explain this discrepancy.

Oeri says vociferousness must not be mistaken for radicalism. He notes a serious attitude toward the country's difficulties demands that strikes and demonstrations are not employed against a government, which has not even evolved so far, whose intentions are not yet known. He affirms the DLITU's opposition to short-term policies based on narrow fiscal interests, which do not achieve real results. The DLITU looks for partners with a view to concluding a comprehensive social pact in which to discuss social economic factors and reach some kind of compromise. It is clear that demands for the liberalization of wages without some kind of anti-monopolies regulation can only lead to inflation. Employers are needed who really represent themselves, so that when some agreement is reached around the negotiating table there will really be someone there to implement it.

In answer to the interviewer's question on what social strata the DLITU represents, Oeri says it is true that for the time being it does not represent large masses. He notes its influence is nevertheless much greater than its organizational strength. People now have lost their faith in the traditional trade union institutions and are, it seems, starting the trade union movement all over again from its foundations; he claims they are organizing at local level, while also seeking contact with other organizations, including the DLITU.

Commodity Exchange To Open at Szentes

LD2102163290 Budapest MTI in English 1348 GMT 20 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 280, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—A British-type commodity exchange is to start operations in early May at Szentes, centre of the famous vegetable growing region of Csongrad County, in southern Hungary.

The organizers told a press conference that the small producers of the region are fed up with the situation created by the state monopoly in wholesale trade, which last year saw them plough back 1.5 million kilograms of cabbage and also several tonnes of onions, paprikas and tomatoes as a result of soaring consumer prices.

The Szentes Commodity Exchange will be the first wholesale market of its kind in Hungary. Any registered producer and entrepreneur may be join upon payment of a 1,000 forint a year (15 USD) membership fee for individuals and 10,000 forints (150 USD) for companies. The initiators also expect foreign participation in the new venture.

Israeli Foreign Minister To Discuss Resuming Ties

LD2402172890 Warsaw PAP in English 1651 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 24—Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens starts a visit to Poland on Monday, February 26, to discuss resumption of diplomatic ties broken off on June 12, 1967.

The decision follows many years of diplomatic efforts, initiated in 1981. May 1986 saw establishment of both countries' interests sections which formally bacame diplomatic missions on January 1, 1989.

The planned unveiling of a board with the country's name and national emblem on the building of the Israeli embassy will not only have the character of a diplomatic ceremony, as the decision to resume diplomatic relations involves important political consequences. First, the fact of the Republic of Poland admitting that the severance of relations 23 years ago was a mistake.

The Polish government also dissociates itself from the consequences of the ensuing policy, in particular from the events of March 1968. Such approach means Poland's readiness to welcome all those people who had to emigrate at that time and who now would like to come back. Polish citizenship would be restored to these people should they wish so. The Polish side is prepared to consider the question of compensations, yet not during these talks.

Poland was one of "midwives" at Israel's birth. We voted for the resolution which permitted to create the Israeli state on May 19, 1948. Poland was also one of the first countries to establish diplomatic relations with Israel. Despite this, and also despite numerous personal ties (for example, numerous creators of the state of Israel and its prominent politicians were born on the territory of prewar Poland—Ben Gurion, Menachem Begin, Yuitzhak Shamir) mutual relations in the past—barring cultural exchange—cannot be described as most developed.

However, resumption of diplomatic relations does not mean a change in Poland's stand on the Middle East conflict. Poland will continue to come out for its political settlement, in concordance with United Nations resolutions, including the Palestinian nation's right to its own homeland.

Arrives for 3-Day Visit 26 Feb

LD2602114690 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens began a three-day visit to Poland today [26 February]. An agreement on the restoration of our diplomatic relations with Israel, broken off on 12 June 1967, will be signed during his stay in Warsaw.

Asked by our reporter at Warsaw Okecie Airport as to his feelings on standing on Polish soil, Minister Arens said:

[Begin Arens recording, in English with superimposed Polish translation] I think that any Jew who comes to Poland must remember the tragedy of the Holocaust, which the Jews experienced on Polish soil. [end recording]

Poland-FRG Forum Views Unification Concerns

LD2202231190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1840 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Report by unidentified correspondent from Poznan]

[Text] [Correspondent] We will also definitely be discussing the subject of borders. This problem will be settled, because it is clear that a future unified Germany will comprise the GDR, the FRG, West Berlin, and that is all. This was said during the inauguration in Poznan of the 6th Polish Republic-Federal Republic of Germany Forum. Thirteen years have lapsed since the first meeting of this kind. Today, however, the forum is taking place under special circumstances. As was stressed, we are dealing with a new pan-European era.

At the beginning of the proceedings today, a message was read from Wojciech Jaruzelski, president of the Polish Republic, and Richard von Weizsaecker, president of the FRG. Guenter Knackstedt, West German ambassador to Poland, is among those taking part in the forum's deliberations. Here is how he sees the possibilities of resolving the most important matters at issue between both countries.

[Begin Knackstedt recording, in German with superimposed Polish translation] Problems exist between the German and Polish sides which can be resolved only by a gradually developing process, by a process which is based on the goodwill of both sides. I am convinced of this and it is, in fact, my (?primary) task to bring this about [word indistinct]. I am, therefore, convinced that in a short time we will succeed at least in tackling all these subjects, in discussing the problems and finding a solution which naturally cannot be an ideal solution for everyone, but which will guarantee the Polish side a life that they will feel secure with, and one that will allow them to coexist with their German neighbor in peace and good-neighborliness. [end recording]

[Announcer Zdzislawa Guca] Peace and good-neighborliness... That's important for all Poles, who...who know how World Wars I and II started, with neighbors, (?it seems it was).

Skubiszewski Addresses Forum

LD2302225290 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] In Poznan on the second day of deliberations at the Polish-German forum, Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski presented the Polish stance:

[Begin Skubiszewski recording] We think we ought to take part in the conference of six states—that is, the two German states and the four great powers. The Ottowa communique states explicitly that the conference will deal with problems of the security of Germany's neighbor states. This concerns Poland, and here there is the question of borders, although there also are other matters, and the indications that the conference is supposed to deal with security matters concerning Germany's neighbors naturally presupposes the participation of those neighbors, including Poland. It is out of the question that decisions will be made at the conference concerning Germany's neighbors without their participation, without their taking part in it.

Furthermore, in the second point I noted that, as a result of our demands...[changes thought] I pointed to the need to sign a treaty on the borders with a united German state itself, a German-Polish treaty. This should not be a treaty like the Zgorzelec Treaty of 1950, or the Warsaw one with the FRG in 1970, but a treaty that will take the place of the nonexistent peace treaty. Naturally, at this point it would not be a peace treaty, but would play the role of a peace regulation [regulacja pokojowa], to the extent defined in the Potsdam and other treaties by the English term; a peace settlement, a peace regulation. [end recording]

Forum Addresses Cooperation

LD2302035490 Warsaw PAP in English 2350 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] Poznan, Feb. 22—The 6th Poland-FRG forum began its 3-day debates here today. The basic goal of this already traditional event is the rapprochement between the two states and societies within the frames of the process of normalisation of international relations in Europe.

The current meeting, attended by representatives of political, social, economic, scientific and cultural circles of both states, has a special significance as it is held in the period of basic changes taking place in the states of Central and Eastern Europe, especially in the face of the started process of the unification of Germany.

The debate of the forum, chaired by Professor Jerzy Holzer, on the Polish side, and Professor Karl Kaiser, on the German side, began with the reading of the messages sent by Presidents Wojciech Jaruzelski and Richard von Weizsaecker and by Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

In his message, President Jaruzelski said in part:

"Poland is for such a solution of the problem of Germanys' unification which will not leave behind a potential dangerous vacuum after the hitherto, tested security system based on the balance of forces.

"With this intention we have declared readiness and will of an appropriate participation in the planned conference devoted to that matter. We see Poland's presence during that meeting as an important occasion for the building, already at that earliest stage, of a new quality of cooperation with the Germans.

"The time is ripe to once and for all remove all seeds of potential and real conflicts from the Polish-German relations in the interest of both nations and in the interest of Europe," Jaruzelski concluded.

President Von Wiezsaecker's message reads in part:

"Today the Germans and Poles are facing the new great tasks and chances, now the same ideals and basic values are binding in both countries as the freedom and democracy have won. These ideals now oblige us as neighbours on our present territories and in our present borders to understand them as bridges which should be reasonably used," the FRG president said.

Tonight, Minister of Foreign Affairs Krzysztof Skubiszewski gave a reception for the particpants in the forum during which he presented key concepts of the Polish foreign policy towards Germany. He said:

"Firstly, prior to the unification of Germanys no problem of borders should exist. That is why Poland has proposed that the Ottawa communique, among the external aspects of the German Unity, should also mention the question of neighbor-states' security as a point of discussion. I do not think that the first negative German reactions to our interest in participating in a part of negotiations of the six states could be final. I think that they were premature as what counts is a right diplomacy and rejection of the Yalta type of dictate," Skubiszewski stated.

The Polish foreign minister proposed that a Polish-German treaty on the border be worked out during the talks of the six, a treaty confirming the border on the Odra-Nysa rivers in its current shape and having the rank of a peaceful regulation.

Minister Skubiszewski also stressed that Poland and Germany participated in the building of one Europe and that was why Poland did not want to see an isolated Germany. Hence, Poland has negative attitude to Germany being neutral.

Another important issue is the construction of the Polish-German community of interests and joint participation of Poles and Germans in the creation of a new common European security system.

Forum Concludes Debates

LD2402225290 Warsaw PAP in English 2043 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] Poznan, Feb. 24—The 6th Poland-FRG forum ended debate here on Saturday. On the last day of the forum, the participants—representatives of political, social, economic, scientific, cultural and church circles—heard reports on the work of three study groups.

The participants stressed that the deep transformations in Europe and the process of overcoming existing divisions should involve the shaping of structurs of democracy and security in our continent.

The opinion of the Polish government that Poland should participate in the "two plus four" conference or in the part of it which has a particular significance to Poland was shared by the German participants in the forum who stressed that talks within the conference must be conducive to close consultations with the Polish side.

Problems of economic cooperation between Poland and the FRG were reflected in 16 Polish-German recommendations for the forum's coordinating committee. They included various aspects of cooperation on the economic and ecological plane. Hence the decision to support Poland's admission as an associated member of the Economic Community and West German and EC assistance in re- adjusting the Polish economy in the structure of a common European market. to speed up this process, postulates are being put forward to boost Polish exports to the FRG and other western countries, to open those market for Polish commodities and services, to remove the restrictive contingents and to liberalize trade.

One should intensify cooperation between Poland and the FRG in the field of new anti-pollution technologies and in technologies connected with new sources of energy.

The package embracing cooperation for democracy and agreement gave prominence to argumentation that the new challenge facing Poland and Germany requires new forms of cooperation.

Problems presented in the reports were the subject of an ensuing plenary discussion. The discussants pointed out that Poland had good reasons to participate in the "two plus four" conference. This concerns the border question and also the question of Soviet troops in the GDR for this automatically forces Poland to accept the presence of these troops at home in view of communication lines running through the Polish territory. Third, there is the question of Poland's economic links with the GDR which must be taken into account in a future united Germany. The representatives of the German side also pointed to the necessity to arrive at a favourable settlement of the question of compensation for Poland's forced labourers in the Third Reich.

The recommendations adopted at the forum will be conveyed to both governments.

Secretary Baker Cited on Two Plus Four Format

LD2302130690 Warsaw PAP in English
1140 GMT 23 Feb 90

[text] Washington, Feb. 23 (PAP)—U.S. Secretary of State James Baker said Thursday that the two-plus-four format of negotiations on German unification was a dicussion and consultation mechanism and was not intended to be a decision mechanism, particularly with respect to decisions that would affect others who are not at the table.

Baker made the statement at a meeting of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives while answering a question from Stephen Solarz (D, New York).

Asked by Solarz in what way the Polish authorities would be able to be represented in discussions about the question of German unification insofar as it applied to the German borders, James baker said: "That's a question we ought to address as the process unfolds, and it's probably premature for me to talk about it now without having discussed it in more detail with other two-plus-four countries."

Mazowiecki, Kohl Hold Phone Discussion on Unity

LD2302221890 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1830 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] We have just received the following communique from the government press office: This evening, Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki held a telephone discussion—announced as planned during a recent news conference—with FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl. The premier outlined to the chancellor the Polish stance on matters connected with the process of German unification and the security of its neighbors.

Kohl Holds To Former Stance on Borders

LD2502235790 Warsaw PAP in English
2314 GMT 25 Feb 90

[By PAP correspondent Ryszard Piekarowicz]

[Text] Washington, Feb. 25—During his two-day talks with President George Bush in Camp David on Saturday and Sunday, Helmut Kohl did not depart from his hitherto stand on the Odra-Nysa border.

The border questions will be settled definitely by a freely elected, all-German government, and a freely elected all-German parliament, Kohl stated at a press conference in Camp David today.

The chancellor in fact rejected Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki's proposal to the effect that shortly after elections in the GDR both German states should sign a treaty with Poland which would guarantee the Odra-Nysa border. Asked whether he rejects the possibility of signing such a treaty before Germany unification, Kohl stated:

If I interpret the wish of the Polish Government correctly, and I think I do so, then the Polish Government does have a very national wish that the competent sovereign, the legally competent sovereign, take the decision. In Poland there are certain circles who wish that, before such a decision be adopted by an all-German parliament, decisions be taken in the two German states.

In the Federal German-West German parliament—we have already pronounced ourselves and confirmed our line about the non-changing of borders.

President Bush, who was listening to the chancellor's answer, stated at that moment:

The U.S. respects the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act regarding the inviolability of current borders in Europe. And the U.S. formally recognizes the current German-Polish border.

President Bush referred also to the Polish border while answering a question on the two-plus-four conference.

I know, he said, of Poland's feeling to want to make two-plus-four into two-plus-five. The two-plus-four has been agreed upon (in Ottawa). Clearly, no agreement would ever be reached that affects the Polish borders without Polish involvements, but there is no change (on the two-plus-four formula). We do not sit up here and try to change an agreement that was taken by several countries in Ottawa.

But there will be a lot of consultative mechanisms—to deal with the interests—not just of Poland but our allies and everyone else, Bush added.

'Anarchists' Group Demonstrates in Warsaw 23 Feb

LD2402045590 Warsaw PAP in English 2330 GMT 23 Feb 90

["Another 'Peaceful Demonstration' in Warsaw"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 23—The Inter-City Anarchists Organisation staged a demonstration here today under the slogans "Stop price hikes," "Power to self-governments" and "Neither communism nor capitalism."

Several hundred people marched past the building of the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy heading for the Sejm (lower house of parliament) building where they sat on the roadway blocking the traffic for 20 minutes.

Next, the demonstrators rushed towards a small palace in Aleje Ujazdowskie Avenue 13 where a new seat of the Citizen's Committee at Lech Walesa is, and, while passing by the U.S. Embassy they chanted "Yankee go home."

When in front of the palace, a large group of demonstrators climbed onto a terrace and tried to enter the building. There they were met by Zdzislaw Najder who tried to talk to the protesters, but, as he said later, it was impossible.

The demonstrators' next target was the roundabout of the Marszalkowska Street and Aleje Jerozolimskie Avenue (town's center) where they again sat down on the ground and caused a traffic jam for nearly half an hour.

'Skinheads' Attack African Students in Wroclaw

LD2402224990 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] This morning, the center of Wroclaw became the site of a march by African students, who are studying at higher education institutions in the city on the Odra. The young Africans, together with their Polish colleagues, were demonstrating their joy at the release in South Africa of the leader of the African National Congress and champion of human rights, Nelson Mandela.

A group of around 20 Wroclaw skinheads, carrying flags with swastikas, attacked the marchers, thus demonstrating their neo-fascist convictions. The skinheads attacked the students with bottles and sticks. One African student was slightly injured. The militia detained eight of the most aggressive skinheads.

Defense Committee Adopts Defense Doctrine

LD2402213890 Warsaw PAP in English 1840 GMT 24 Feb 90

["Poland's Defence Doctrine (Excerpts)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 24—The KOK National Defence Committee adopted the defence doctrine of the Republic of Poland.

The general directions of Poland's defence policy mapped out in the doctrine are binding for state bodies, economic units, social and professional organizations and every citizen.

Chairman of the KOK, Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski signed a resolution on the matter.

Polish Raison d'Etat

The supreme aim of the republic of Poland is to guarantee the most vital interests of the Polish nation; its security, right to live in peace, independence and state sovereignty as well as its whole territory and its inviolability.

The defence doctrine of the Republic of Poland stems from the Polish raison d'etat. It also takes into account the currrent arrangements of a jointly agreed coalition defence doctrine.

Ties with Europe

From the position of Poland on the European continent, from the needs of national security stems a close dependence of the fortunes of our country on the situation in Europe.

There are still divisions and contradictions in precisely this continent. Despite fundamental progress in international relations, lack of trust has not yet been fully overcome, especially between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. In the central part of the continent the situation

could crystallize for a long period of time. It is also here that the strongest troops and arsenals of continously perfected nuclear and conventional arms are concentrated. These circumstances prevent one from excluding the risk of an armed conflict in Europe.

A possible conflict could encompass all of Europe or a part of it and would be of an intercoalition nature. It could also have global repercussions.

Central Europe would be the site of decisive battles in every event while Poland, as a strategic region and one of deployment of second strikes and second lines would—even irrespectively of its will—would be included in the war. For this reason every war in Europe would pose a threat of destruction for the Polish society, economy, and culture.

Ensuring Poland's Integrity

Ensuring the territorial integrity of the country is the foundation of the Polish defence doctrine. The republic of Poland acknowledges the unchangeability and inviolability of its present borders as an important premise of peace on the European continent. Questioning the permanence and stability of Poland's western border stands for undermining an important factor of the European order.

Poland's bi- and multi-lateral alliances and its membership of the Warsaw Treaty are an important element of its security, though their role can change as a new, all-European systerm of security is built.

Strengthening Peace

The Republic of Poland acknowledges the close link of national security and international security.

From this stems the need for a mutually advantageous participation in international processes, especially those in Europe.

Strengthening peace and preventing war is the key goal of the foreign policy of the Polish state. International conflicts and crisis situations should be solved strictly through peaceful means.

In its defence assumptions Poland is being guided by the principle of peaceful coexistence between states and nations. It abides by norms of international law.

Principle of Inviolability of Borders

Poland attaches special importance to the principle of sovereignty, inviolability of borders, non-interference into internal affairs and meeting one's commitments, including observance of the armed conflict code and its humanitarian norms.

Poland deems the U.N Charter and other international agreements as important elements of the security system of Poland. Poland respects the Helsinki Final Act.

In keeping with the U.N. Charter, Poland revokes the use of force or threat of its use in international relations. It will not start any war operations against another state or alliance of states in any circumstances and will not take part in war if it or its allies do not become the object of armed attack.

A resolution on martial law can be made by the Sejm (Lower House) in a situation and under conditions set out in the Polish constitution, when the Sejm is not in session. Martial law is decided upon by the president.

The Republic of Poland does not forward any territorial demands and does not deem any state its enemy.

Poland deems creating a system of mutual guarantees and commitments precluding various kinds of conflicts from turning into wars an important means of war-prevention.

Reaching this goal which consolidates the stability of the situation on our continent calls for a constant adjustment of military structures to real defence needs. Also called for are solely peaceful, political and legal methods of resolving disputed issues and a shaping of a non-confrontational model of collective security in Europe.

This is associated with cuts in military budgets and appropriate cuts in the manpower of armed forces and endowing them with unequivocally defensive character.

Poland speaks in favour of greater openness of military operations and restraint in their pursuance.

Contribution to Mutual Confidence

Poland is also in favour of an evolution of the military doctrines of all states leading to their transformation into doctrines of strictly defensive character.

The Republic of Poland will contribute comprehensively to the attainment of these goals by actively taking part in negotiations leading to an increase in mutual trust, detente and cooperation in Europe.

Poland opposes all forms of arms race, especially in the field of nuclear weapons and the newest generation of conventional arms. It also favours eliminating stockpiles of mass-destruction weapons, introducing a ban on their production and use, it opposes placing all kinds of arms in space.

Poland deems adjusting the structures and functioning of the state and its economy to the contemporary needs of the country's development and to the processes taking place in Europe and the world as one of the key factors of its security.

The Polish armed forces base on the system of obligatory military service, until this is necessary for various reasons. [sentence as received] The share of career soldiers wil be systematically increased.

The Polish armed forces will not take any action which would arouse warranted concern in other states as to their security.

It is not in Poland's interest to station armed forces outside its borders. Nonetheless, in putting into effect the peace policy of the state, the Polish army participates in the activities pursued by the armed forces of the United Nations and other similar undertakings aimed at ensuring peace in various regions of the world under international law. The broad participation of Polish soldiers in international peace missions is a proof of the high prestige of the Polish army.

The president of the Republic of Poland is the supreme commander of the armed forces. During wartime, the Sejm appoints the commander-in-chief of the Polish Armed Forces.

Lech Walesa Holds News Conference 23 Feb

LD2402205090 Warsaw PAP in English 2320 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] Gdansk, Feb. 23—Solidarity leader Lech Walesa today held a press conference at the Higher Maritime School in Gdynia.

On Germany's Unification

I represent the same view on the issue of our attending the Germany unity talks as Premier Mazowiecki does, Walesa said and pointed out that the time had come to give up thinking in terms of 1939 or 1945. The world has learnt a lesson from the past and nobody will allow any military threat today, he stated.

He reiterated his stand on the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Poland but added that the withdrawal should not be linked with any weakening of Poland's position towards Germany and should take place "at a definite time."

Relations With Czechoslovakia, USSR

Walesa spoke sceptically about a concept of closer political ties between Poland and Czechoslovakia. Again, this is thinking in terms of 50 years ago, he said and opined that today it was more important to equalize economic levels. "Let us integrate economically, the political integration will follow," he said.

Referring to Katyn, Walesa said that the settling of that issue was a matter of honour and conscience, and stressed that Poland wanted good relations with the USSR. He spoke about his earlier meeting with people's deputies from the USSR and said he advised them that the Soviet Union should not try to maintain its superpower character by old methods.

I also told them that Gorbachev would do best by dissolving the Soviet Union and leaving it a free hand. Then, the union would be established anew but according to the principles of brotherhood, partnership and equality.

Polish Issues

Without much enthusiasm Walesa spoke about a proposal to hold parliamentary elections earlier than scheduled. There is no political pluralism yet and the local elections also must be held under the banner of Solidarity, he said.

Everyone could have reason to strike, he stated while commenting on economic issues, but then everything would slip through our fingers. This is true that Vice-Premier Balcerowicz was the only one who had an idea and he is promising first effects within two-three months. I have a different opinion on unemployment and dismissals than he, Walesa added.

I do not believe that Poland must face unemployment and that there is no work. Such threat does not exist where there is so much to be done. This is a question of organizing things well.

Assessing the situation in the Gdansk shipyard, Walesa said he appealed to Vice-Premier Balcerowicz to give credits for the shipyard, but was critical about financing the shipyard with Western credits now coming to Poland. He stressed that that money should be directed to enterprises with less complicated production which can produce effects faster than the shipyard.

Asked about the militia and ways to improve public security, he said: "If the performance of the militia becomes poorer, society would have to handle the situation by itself."

Commentary Assesses SDRP Congress Meeting

AU2302174390 Warsaw TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC in Polish 9 Feb 90 p 3

[Jacek Maziarski commentary: "A Joint Stock Company"]

[Text] In his closing speech to the First Congress of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SDRP], Aleksander Kwasniewski said, among other things: "We have been slurred with the accusation that all we have done in this Congress Hall during the last few days is to repaint the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] in a different color.... The party that has risen through the efforts of party reformers and the determination of the social democratic bloc, has been labeled hard-nosed and conservative. This may be very convenient for some people, but it is simply not true."

I regret to say that in my opinion Aleksander Kwasniewski is laying himself wide open to ridicule when he publicly states this sort of thing. There is nothing more ridiculous than arguing with a fact that is obviously incontrovertible. The several-hundred strong press contingent was able to observe at first hand how

the overwhelming majority of congress deputies repeatedly rejected the proposals of the small handful of reformers. The SDRP was not born as a result of a contest between the defenders of the Communist and the Polish United Workers Party's [PZPR] tradition. On the contrary, the SDRP came into being through a struggle with its reformers. The First Congress of the SDRP made it plain for all to see that the reforming delegates only constituted a 100-200 minority. The overwhelming majority, some 1,200 delegates, easily pushed the reforming opposition to the sideline, and then proclaimed it was abandoning communist ideology and adopting the principles of social democracy. Chairman Kwiatkowski is now demanding that Polish society accept this collective and instantaneous conversion, and no doubt hopes that no one will be able to show whether this was a real change of conviction or just another bluff.

I think, however, that there are methods of verifying the authenticity of the party's metamorphosis. For example, one can take a closer look at the SDRP's newly elected Supreme Council. Here one sees that the profession most prominently represented in the 150-strong Supreme Council happens to be party secretary (32 members). Full-time party apparatchiks—namely, directors of party departments, party instructors, and officials from youth organizations, the National Trade Union Confederation, and the now defunct Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth—form another large group. To these two categories one then adds the several-dozen strong group of representatives of the party traditional nomenklatura—namely, various directors, managers, chairmen, representatives from the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and party press editors. Thus, a mere glance at the composition of one of SDRP's highest authorities shows that these posts have been occupied by the core of the former PZPR nomenklatura. The SDRP is controlled by people whose careers were firmly tied to the PZPR and who are only interested in holding onto the party's property and its influence. Are these the people who are to guide the SDRP in the direction of pluralism and democracy?

What kind of people are they? For example, let us see who received the most votes to the Supreme Council. Here is the list of people who are in the top five of all the successful candidates: Ireneusz Sekula; Stanislaw Gabrielski; Mieczyslaw Czerniawski (first secretary of the Lomza voivodship committee); Jozef Oleksy; and Jerzy Uzieblo (OPZZ deputy chairman). There is nobody else here other than the well-known party activists of the 1980's. These are the very same people who made their names in the martial law period, who determinedly suppressed opposition, and fed the people a diet of nonsense about the achievements of real socialism.

What then is the true significance of this congress, a congress to which the party flocked under communist banners only to emerge a few days later dressed in the colors of social democracy? If we push aside all the slogans about profound inner transformations and the rekindling of the Polish and European traditions, we are finally faced by a very simple question: What will the party be like after its January metamorphosis?

In all certainty, it will be a much smaller party. Many thousands of people—without doubt, half of its membership, possibly more—will say good-bye to the party. In all certainty, it will see the departure of all those for whom the SDRP's first congress proved to be a great disappointment. One saw this already beginning to happen in the Congress Hall. Those who imagined that the PZPR was reformable—namely, the revisionists and the reformers—have already broken away. It is very characteristic to note who did not choose to break away—namely, the hardline defenders of Marxist orthodoxy. On the other hand, soon after the congress, Anna Pawlowska declared her adherence to the SDRP in TRYBUNA. It is a well-known secret that Anna Pawlowska has as much in common with social democracy as she has with monarchism. This fact, however, has not prevented her from earnestly declaring: "I intend to remain true to myself in a party whose structure, program, and aims, do not conflict with my ideals." This declaration may prove to be somewhat problematical for Aleksander Kwasniewski, but it has one redeeming feature: It is stating the truth.

The PZPR-SDRP January congress, when observed calmly from the distance of passing time, appears to have been a "repetition" of all the preceding party congresses that were in their own time similarly hailed as "profound landmarks." The end result, however, has always been the same. The party rid itself of revisionists from both its political flanks, and the entrenched aktivs continued to strengthen their relentless grip on party machinery. It would seem that this time round, the party has decided to transform itself into a joint stock company belonging to all its functionaries. If we were to allow them to keep the assets which the PZPR amassed at society's cost, it is quite conceivable that these people would continue to hang around until infinity, from time to time changing their slogans and colors. Ideology plays no role here. These people would put their signature to any program so long as they could retain their plush armchairs, telephones, and limousines.

Aleksander Kwasniewski expressed his conviction that the SDRP will consolidate and develop. This brings to my mind Kwasniewski's opening words of the first speech he made at the congress: "I have never liked this Congress Hall. It has something about it that makes one lose all sense of reality...."

Geremek on State of Political Arena

AU2302171790 Warsaw KONFRONTACJE in Polish 25 Jan Feb 90 pp 6,7

[Interview with Bronislaw Geremek, chairman of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club, by Adam Kowalski; place and date not given: "Prof. Bronislaw Geremek Talks to Adam Kowalski"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Kowalski] Poland is really ruled by three people now—Lech Walesa, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, and Bronislaw Geremek—with the support of a quite extensive social structure that bears the name "Solidarity." However, the movement is neither as big nor as monolithic as it once was....

[Geremek] I would ask you to view things for a moment from an angle that is different from that of Warsaw's intellectual circles. We are involved in large-scale processes in which personal ambitions play a certain part but are essentially of marginal significance. Tadeusz Mazowiecki, who heads the government at this time of change, was helping the striking workers at the Gdansk Shipyard not all that long ago. My role and situation is that I am in Parliament, and I do not have any authority that would give me the power to impose my decisions. I have to convince my colleagues and argue all the time. The scope for my decisions is exceptionally limited, but the scope for securing a decision is really great. When we act together—Lech Walesa, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, and I—we do so primarily to stress that all three of us have our origins in the same movement, that we are united not only by history or numerous reminiscences, but by a feeling in that doing what we are doing we are seeking to realize the same set of values. The impressions I get then is that the political conflicts or differences are of secondary importance. [passage omitted]

[Kowalski] Would you concede that free citizens are not rushing en masse to join organizational structures? "Solidarity" is being rebuilt slowly. The impetus that there once was seems to be lacking.... Why is this so?

[Geremek] I do not know. It is something that can be explained in various ways, but, it would seem to me, that it is sometimes better to say that there are things that we do not fully understand. I do not fully understand why this should be the case.

[Kowalski] Good, but why is Polish society not accepting political parties?

[Geremek] In both these cases I have something of a partial explanation, because one cannot be involved in public life without being able to offer an interpretation or explanation for a particular phenomenon.

[Kowalski] Perhaps it is because the very word party has a negative connotation? Party means the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] of course, and PZPR arouses antipathy on the part of society.

[Geremek] That the term party should be associated with the communist party is part of the post-totalitarian legacy. "Solidarity," on the other hand, is associated with hope, hope that has not been stifled by any kind of bureaucracy yet or by any organizational structure. My impression is that alongside the phenomenon of apathy toward political parties, there is a need, especially among young people, to identify with a social movement.

[Kowalski] Do you think that young people's ethical purity and sensitivity instructs them to choose ideals and values instead of political programs and a struggle for power?

[Geremek] This may sound naive in the context of the language of politics, but perhaps it is not all that naive.... It would also appear that political parties are in a state of crisis in the Western world, especially in Europe, because The United States does not have political parties, but the phenomenon of two great parties that are electoral structures. In Europe, on the other hand, the phenomenon of the party, which is a legacy of the 19th century, is undergoing a crisis, and movements such as the ecological one are political parties of a sort.... [passage omitted]

[Kowalski] Pressure groups of various kinds.

[Geremek] Yes, pressure groups that appeal more to ethical values than political programs. In other words, one has to have people in parliament, because they can introduce the idea that man has a right to a certain thing, or that nature has rights....

[Kowalski] However, politics cannot take place without political forces, and they do not necessarily have to be pressure groups. After totalitarianism, and the subsequent period during which people who enjoy social confidence have a special role, we surely have to develop political pluralism, however, old fashioned it may seem.

[Geremek] I think I detect some concern in your question that the process of emerging from a totalitarian society is taking rather too long....

[Kowalski] Not at all, but I just wanted to point out that that is what was supposed to happen, but it has not.

[Geremek] It is not deliberate, but simply the way things have turned out. We have said that there is a need for political pluralism. We thought that it was enough to create a sphere in which political parties and programs could be formed. This has not happened for two reasons. First, society lacks confidence in political institutions. Second, political parties have developed either by resuming past interrupted activities or by directly accepting ready Western models. Poland is a young society, and the younger generation already knows what it does not want and what it is dissatisfied with. I think that they do not derive political satisfaction from programs that are directed toward the past, but want programs that are directed toward the future. It will take time to solve this problem. [passage omitted]

Sejm Opens Session With Economic Debates

LD2302033790 Warsaw PAP in English 2300 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 22—The Sejm, or parliament's lower house, opened today its three-day session devoted to economic and social bills.

Today's debate began with Sejm Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz's statement on Germanys' unification.

In the discussion, deputies were assessing the economic transformations after the two-month implementing of the economic programme. They stated that although there were spectacular successes, there was a threat of recession to Poland.

Taking the floor, Vice-Premier Balcerowicz came out in favour of further implementation of the programme within the present frames and spoke about tendencies which were, in his opinion, most important.

Among them he mentioned prices and said that their growth was higher than it was planned but this was checked after some time. Referring to the currency market he stated that the steady exchange rate of the dollar gave a guarantee for halting the price hikes. He called the turn from the dictate of producers to the market of customers a new phenomenon for many enterprises.

Speaking about unemployment, Balcerowicz reminded that the government did forecast it. He also said that the fall in production was an incidental cost of switching to the market econmy and added that the lower credit interest rates would be conducive to the gradual enlivening of production.

He said that an important element should be small privatization, especially in the field of trade, and opined that foreign assistance, mainly to agriculture, was a significant support.

The debate will continue tomorrow.

Reaches Resolutions

LD2402050290 Warsaw PAP in English
2323 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 23—The Polish Sejm today adopted the budgetary law and related financial plans. At the same time, the house said that the government should shape the economic policy so that the negative outcome of the stabilization programme could be limited, production drop prevented from exceeding 5 percent a year and the purchasing power of wages from 20 percent.

Army

The budgetary debate also covered the Army. Deputy Szymanderski said that 65 percent of expenditures of the defence ministry went for food, cadre's pays etc., and criticized the poor technical conditions of Polish military units.

Deputy Piotr Kolodziejczyk suggested that the Sejm should hold a special debate on those issues.

Agriculture

The meeting warned that the Polish farming was facing another crisis caused by the growing taxes, high prices of machinery, fertilizers and fuels. Deputies said that food production in Poland should be subsidized.

Amendments to Penal Law

The Sejm adopted amendments to the penal law. An additional penalty of confiscation of property was removed from the penal code. The article on a possibility of keeping in custody those pending trial in militia or military prisons was removed from the penal and punishment execution code.

Resolutions

The Sejm adopted a 10-point resolution on securing the proper distribution of limited funds and appealed to the government to undertake certain moves.
The meeting stated that the relation of the average pay in the budgetary sphere to the one in the production sphere should be maintained.
The government should prepare a concept of departing from reliefs and privileges, particularly in the field of transport and medicines.
The buildings left by the defence and Internal Affairs Ministry should be assigned for public purposes, the resolutions said.
The banks should take energetic measures to exact payments of credits drawn last year by political parties and OPZZ [All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions).

Law on Assocations

The Sejm adopted amendments to the law on associations which pertain to their local branches and the Polish Union of Pathfinders. The amendments also concern the law on higher schooling (students' organizations).

The debate will continue on Saturday.

Adopts 10-Point Budgetary Resolution

LD2302223790 Warsaw PAP in English
2135 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 23—The Sejm adopted a 10-point resolution to ensure the proper division of limited budgetary means and called on the government to take some steps.

The govenrment should prepare a concept of giving up branch reductions and privileges, particularly these concerning transport and medicines.

The Sejm recommends banks to vigorously collect dues in virtue of credits drawn by political parties and the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions last year.

The Sejm adopted also the second resolution on assumptions of the 1990 socio-economic policy. The document postulates that the government should take such actions

so that the fall in the purchasing power of wages in the socialized economy should not exceed 20 per cent this year.

Ends 3-Day Session

LD2402235990 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 24 Feb

[Text] The Sejm ended exhaustive three-day deliberations after 2000. Several matters anticipated within the day's agenda have been carried over to the next meeting. During today's deliberations, draft changes in the pensions and annuities regulations were sent to Sejm commissions and the solution regarding social insurance for private farmers and members of their families was amended. The deputies approved several economic instruments, amendments and laws on state enterprises, the commercial code, laws on economic activity, and the bankruptcy law. The house also approved laws on organizational changes in coal mining and the power industry, laws on the protection of national assets in the process of transformation in forms of ownership, and laws on combatting monopolistic practices.

Celac on Foreign Policy Issues

AU2302215890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2030 GMT 23 Feb 90

[News conference given by Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac to Romanian and foreign journalists in Bucharest on 23 February]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 23/2/1990—Romanian Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac restated at a press conference on 23 February the determination of Romania's Government to fulfil its international obligations, to promote also in future relations with all the countries set on the principle of mutual advantage "which alone can guarantee long-term cooperation."

Answering questions of Romanian and foreign journalists concerning Romania's position in Europe now and in the near future, the Romanian chief diplomatist said that "under the dynamic impact of recent changes, of the change of system that obviously affect long-term options, Romania should not stay behind the course of events in Europe."

Referring in context to Romania's relations with the East European countries, the speaker termed them as good and constructive. He also showed that the PNUC [Provisional National Unity Council] Executive Bureau examined in its 23 February meeting the establishment of official relations with South Korea, stressing that Romania would maintain friendly relations also with DPR Korea.

Says Election Observers Welcome

AU2302215990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2035 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 23/2/1990—Romania's Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac said at a press conference:

The Romanian Government is firmly committed to hold free elections that can give full guarantees that each citizen will be able to make its option unrestrained.

To the Romanian Government, as a matter of principle, the right to elect in full freedom is a fundamental human right.

As for the translation of this principle into fact, the question is also one of international cooperation for the preparation and holding of free and democratic elections.

On that line, we welcome U.S. Secretary of State James Baker's initiative on proper mechanisms to be developed in future, possibly under CSCE aegis, to supervise elections in the participant states.

Until such mechanisms are established, we will welcome observers from the 34 states participating in the CSCE process in Romania for the May 1990 elections. Each of these observers is expected to have his own way of evaluation linked to the practice in his country.

However, it is our view that single standards are needed for a unanimously acceptable evaluation of the preparations and holding of the elections. Therefore we called on the UN secretary general to find a fairly flexible way which complies with the aims and principles of the charter, with UN practice so that experts of the world organization can take part in the preparation and holding of elections in Romania, and their findings be included in a report.

This is the meaning of the Provisional National Unity Council's Resolution of 23 January 1990 for the invitation of UN observers to supervise elections in Romania.

Recently I had the opportunity to personally discuss this matter with the UN secretary-general when I officially submitted the request in the name of our country.

After my talk with Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar on 16 February I feel that this is a possible formula.

Iliescu, Stanculescu Address Cadres at Ceremony

AU1702200190 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 17 Feb 90

[Text] As already reported, Colonel General Victor Atanasie Stanculescu, the new national defense minister, was sworn in today. The ceremony, in the Romanian Parliament Hall, took place in the presence of military cadres from the Bucharest garrison.

Referring to the events in the past few days within the corps of officers, Mr. Ion Iliescu specified that they prove the accentuation of a certain mistrust, which is unusual for the Army, thus becoming a source of tension in our social life. However, the speaker said, the Army is not out of touch with social life, it does not make up an isolated body; the situation in society influences the mood among the ranks of the Army.

The difficult inheritance left by the dictatorship in the economic and social areas is coupled by the distortion of the mind, suspicion, and mistrust, all of them constituting obstacles in the way of solving problems.

The president of the Provisional National Unity Council then spoke about the demands made by the group of officers, and stressed that these demands have to be dealt with with great attention, both by the country's leadership and the National Defense Ministry.

The activity and responsibility of Army cadres during the December 1989 events will be examined with great attention. This situation will be clarified by the judicial and military bodies in order to restore calm and trust among people.

In connection with how promotions are being made in the Army, the speaker stressed that promotion to higher ranks will be based on people's professional and moral values, because only thus can a spirit of trust prevail in the ranks of the Army and between units and commanders.

President Ion Iliescu stressed the imperative requirement to establish, among the ranks of the Army, a climate of democratic relations, of communication and dialogue, because only in this way can a conscious discipline be established based on mutual trust.

The Army was the shield of hope in the days of the overthrow of the dictatorship. It has to stay a factor of balance these days when our country has to overcome great economic, social, and political problems, the speaker continued.

Referring to the appointment of Colonel General Victor Atanasie Stanculescu as minister of national defense, the president of the Provisional National Unity Council emphasized the very difficult mission he, together with the whole ministry leadership, commanders, and officers, has in order to improve working relations in general and at all levels, and to solve the problems faced by the military in their life.

The speaker then spoke about the positive aspects to be noted in the country's political activity, and about the creation of the Provisional National Unity Council, within which a joint activity and the coparticipation of all existing political formations in leading the country's political activity is being achieved. This has demonstrated that despite adversities, differences of opinions, and political positions, dialogue is possible. It is necessary for us to create a civilized framework within which all of us are able to coexist and in which everything that means human force, a creative force in society, may be completely utilized.

In conclusion, President Ion Iliescu expressed his full trust that the Army and the corps of officers will continue to prove maturity and patriotic spirit, and will always be a solid support and factor of stability for the whole country.

The floor was then taken by Colonel General Victor Atanasie Stanculescu, who expressed thanks for being appointed as national defense minister and thanks to the Army which had accepted this appointment.

He assured the audience that all complaints by the military personnel will be examined, that he will take action so that people express their view freely. At this truly historic time, the minister of national defense said: We want to assure free Romania that the Army will contribute to the country's stability in general, that it will do its duty, and that it will work in complete unity. We assure the young people, all our people, and all those who made the revolution, that the Army is with them.

Stanculescu on Army's Role, Political Pluralism

AU1902193690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1621 GMT 19 Feb 90

["The New Minister of Defence: What Does He Expect To Do, What Is He Expected To Do?"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 19/2/1990—Victor Atanasie Stanculescu said in his first news conference that all territorial commands had assured him "of their attachment to and respect for the decision of the current state leadership" to appoint him minister of national defence.

Referring to some Romanian Army officers' recent action of protest, Victor Stanculescu stated that he shared "not only those standpoints but also other ones, and not only the officers' but also the rank and file's, that too, had justified claims."

To his mind, "for the Army to remain the country's army, political pluralism should be taken into account.... We should bear in mind that Romania takes a new direction in order to become a European Romania. Every action should be reconsidered in this very wide framework," the new minister of defence said.

As for the current status of the former Securitate, Victor Stanculescu mentioned that it "no longer exists as a notion. The Army dismantled it in point of organization and as for the presence of some people, the army should be fully trusted that it will never allow a monster like the former institution to emerge again."

Victor Stanculescu also stated that other cadre changes too would be made in the Army and guaranteed that the Army would "not be involved in political games."

He opined that "it is up to the prosecutor's office and justice bodies, that are independent" to sue the military discredited during the revolution.

Victor Stanculescu promises to run the Ministry of National Defence in a way consisting of "contacts with the people, with more optimism and a smiling face and more care for every person, for man's dignity, for democratization also of the Army."

Petre Mihai Bacanu though reproachingly notes in daily ROMANIA LIBERA that apart from the militia officer tried in Sibiu for attempted murder, no other person has been sued so far for terrorism, but only for abetting genocide and for assisting the lawbreaker, the defendants being Securitate and militia cadres who ... did not shoot at the crowd, nor did they order their subordinates to do so."

So, two months after the triumph of the revolution, Petre Mihai Bacanu notes, those who killed thousands of people all over the country are still at large. "Why this indefinite delay in suing those who did the genocide with their own hands? They cannot be hidden indefinitely through transfer from one ministry to another" wonders the editor.

Stanculescu on Securitate Disbanding

PM2602095090 Paris LE MONDE in French 23 Feb 90 p 3

[Patrice Claude dispatch: "Defense Minister Asserts That Securitate Has Been Disbanded"]

[Text] Bucharest—The Securitate was disbanded on 30 December, figuratively decapitated, and the telephone bugging centers, set up by Ceausescu's dictatorship to spy on Romanian citizens, have been destroyed. That was the substance of the solemn assurance given to the country on Wednesday, 21 February by new Defense Minister General Victor Stanculescu, in reply to an open letter published 13 days earlier by a group of 46 intellectuals.

To allay the fears expressed by that letter's signatories, and shared by a large number of citizens traumatized by 40 years of Stalinism, Gen. Stanculescu said that "no citizen, political party, institution, or enterprise is the target of any kind of surveillance.... The minister is anxious to assure public opinion that bugging will not be used either now or in the future."

However, he added: "As in all countries in the world, some structures are being established to guarantee national defense, and the country's sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity."

The passages in the communique which refer to the struggle against "activities which destabilize the economy or society", and against forces which would like to "slow down the democratic process in Romania", are more worrying, because they are too vague and they may arouse fears which the promise of "never putting these services at the disposal of any political group" cannot entirely allay.

According to a very reliable source, the four surveillance and counterespionage departments put back into operation in the space of two months by General Militaru—the former defense minister who "resigned" last week, apparently under pressure from the army itself—were not intended to be placed at the service of any civilian political force.... Nor were the 44 territorial commands set up by the former minister during the same period.

Considered in high places "as an extremely loyal officer, of the Saint-Cyr type, in other words without political ambitions," Gen. Stanculescu gives the public, for the first time, the exact numbers of officers of the former Securitate forced to retire for having taken part "directly or indirectly" in operations "of repression against the revolution."

Listening Centers "Being Destroyed"

A list of eight generals "taken out of active service or prosecuted in the courts" including some—like General Iulian Vlad—who were already known, precedes the famous list. The "Fifth Directorate", which dealt with guard duties and law and order, has been disbanded and its 437 officers have been forced to retire.

In other departments of the Ceausescu regime's former political police 1,739 officers have been forced to do likewise.

On the other hand, the officers and troops used solely to guard buildings and important objectives on national territory—the "Danube of thought" (one of Ceausescu's aliases) did not trust the army enough to give it these simple tasks—have been "maintained in their posts."

Similarly, of the 1,073 officers of the infamous "Fourth Directorate" (internal espionage, military counterintelligence), only 611 have ceased their activities and "those who were guilty of crimes are under arrest while the military prosecutor's investigation continues."

The communique issued by the army, which inherited all the Securitate's facilities and installations in the first days of the revolution (they were formerly under the interior ministry's authority) reveals that the remaining officers have been allocated, "under the surveillance of operational military groups," to communications units taken over by the national army.

Of the Securitate units in Bucharest, Timisoara, Sibiu, Brasov, and Cluj, 1,888 agents have been forced to retire and "only the technical departments necessary to the functioning of communications for the telephone system have been maintained."

The listening systems used by the Securitate, Gen. Stanculescu also said, "were put out of service on 22 December because the cables linking them with the telephone network were cut."

The former interception [centres d'intersections] and listening centers (around half a dozen in Bucharest), and the switching centers for all the capital's telephone exchanges "can be visited by the press."

With regard to the former Securitate's own buildings and installations, "which will be used to improve the telecommunications system," their listening equipment "is being destroyed."

The investigation under way has already established that "a large proportion of the former Securitate's operational agents served the Ceausescu dictatorship and the interests of his clique," and it therefore seems to have virtually disintegrated.

However, there is no doubt that it would have been easier to win over public opinion by providing the overall statistics of the Securitate's permanent members before and after 22 December 1989....

NSF Identity Questioned; New Members Sought

AU1302152690 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 6 Feb 90 pp 1,3

[Marin Mincu article: "Did the Council of the National Salvation Front Actually Exist?"]

[Text] It was reported on television that the National Salvation Front Council [NSFC] had held its last meeting on Saturday, 3 February, and that by Friday, 9 February, it will be completely restructured and replaced by the Council of National Unity. A month and a half after this body was first set up, the time has come for us to express justified bewilderment without risk of being accused of ill intentions.

First, did this NSF Council actually exist? We will see that this question is by no means rhetorical. We recall that at the birth of this new democratic structure, after Mr. Ion Iliescu had read the list of the 29 (a list in which "Mr." Iliescu mentioned his own name last, with the modest qualification "if you allow me"), a worker, carrying the tricolor, who had been on his feet tirelessly during those moments of tension (as if to fully reassure those who were broadcasting in Studio 4) asked with concern whether the so-called Council also "included workers." As there appeared to be none, Mr. Iliescu was able to get out of this awkward position with the help of some veiled phrase whereby he promised a future improvement of the composition....

True, later there was talk about expanding the Council to 140 members; however the promised list of all the names, with a brief biography of each of the members, was never published. We all asked ourselves why natural openness about the members of the Council did not work? Perhaps because quite a lot of them did not have a crystal clear biography to convince us of the inevitability of their being included in this supreme body, sanctioned and "validated" by the pure sacrifice of the masses of students and workers.... Or, perhaps not all of them could have justified their representative participation in such a body (not forum!), because not just anyone (irrespective of his good faith, education, endorsement by Mrs. Doina Cornea or other person, and irrespective of how photogenic he might be!) has the desire and competence to make decisions on the nation's destiny (without being appointed by the people). Surely, the answer will be that in those hot moments there was no time for such clarifications. Agreed, and therefore it is the right time to raise these questions now, before the new National Unity Council has been set up (or elected!) Could it be that precisely the composition of this phantom-council, which has by no means proved its representative quality, led to the serious confusion that accelerated the events of 12, 23, and 28 January? In these dramatic circumstances (for our bloody course toward democracy), why did the Council not prove its existence by making mature decisions to avoid any ambiguity instead of allowing itself to be completely taken over by the will of three people: Ion Iliescu, Dumitru Mazilu, and Petre Roman. Thus, on 12 January we witnessed with horror and shame the attempt at a political coup within the Council itself (when Mr. Mazilu publicly uncovered some colleagues in the Council by inciting the masses, in a [Romanian playwright] Caragiale-like way, to irresponsible action). On 23 January the television showed live the undemocratic way in which Mr. Iliescu made himself the substitute for the entire Council, imposing his own will in connection with the Front's participation in the elections. Finally, on 28 January the Front resorted to programmatic disinformation and to inciting violence in order to intimidate and annihilate the democratic opposition forces.

This is why, after "century-old struggles that lasted a month and a half," the Front accepted this decision, which had been hard to squeeze out of it, namely to "restructure" the Council.... However, what can this mean? Will the same attitude of nonopenness prevail in the National Unity Council? Will its composition be as concealed as was the secret Council of Medieval Venice?

Now that the euphoric stage of spontaneous adherence has passed (which seems to be the only criterion for appointment to the Council, certainly with the usual exceptions that can be counted on the fingers of one hand!), should some honest people (whose joining the Council in the first period of its interim stage was more or less justified) not be sent home to their faculty or (why not?) to perform the work they are qualified for, so that work can begin in earnest?

It is desirable that at least now the names be revealed of all those whom the nation has entrusted with a mandate for the second interim stage up to the free elections of 20 May, and that brief notes be published stating the reasons that these people have been preferred over others in this body of maximum representativity. As is known, this is the procedure in any democratic country in Europe, thus providing society the opportunity to have direct control over who is serving its interests.

And another bewildering fact: Why is the Front taking the lion's share of representation in the National Unity Council? Why 50 percent and not 49 percent, for instance?

NSF Political Platform Viewed as 'Superior'

AU1402195590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1747 GMT 14 Feb 90

["Economy—The NSF's Trump Cards"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 14/2/1990—Political commentators note that, owing to the platform-programme it announced after its registration as a political movement, the National Salvation Front [NSF] asserts a representative dimension superior to the other political groupings. They also notice there is a concern that the trend toward a maximal social representation should turn against the idea of pluralism.

But the National Salvation Front presents its economic strategy more clearly, more elaborately owing to an in-depth knowledge of things. It starts from the idea that a market economy cannot be achieved all of a sudden and, by far, by copying a Western pattern, since Romania has inherited a certain reality while the Western world boasts several strategic patterns. A realistic assessment shows that the shift from the current excessively centralized planning system to the market economy should be gradually made.

The NSF rejects, as a utopian solution, the integral and instantaneous privatization, and suggests the promotion of a diverse property state, cooperative, participative, private and joint. The maintenance of large enterprises under state ownership is realistic, their integration into the market mechanism being highly difficult. However, the NSF is for the enterprises' passage to autonomy, the creation of participative, joint and private companies, or of foreign capital-based societies. When it says monopoly forms to control and dominate societal life shall not be admitted, the NSF removes the greatest fear of the majority population that wants decentralization and market economy but it also wants its optional rights guaranteed and safeguarded.

The National Salvation Front considers the reorganization of agriculture as one of its chief goals and asserts the guaranteeing of a minimal income for the whole work force, being also for the avoidance of major differences in the accumulation of wealth. To this end, the NSF intends to keep inflation and unemployment under control.

Therefore, it is obvious that the NSF's platform-programme considers the fact that Romania, owing to its geographical and historical position, is located in Eastern Europe and its re-Europeanization cannot fastly annihilate this original condition.

PNUC Plenary Session Resumes Discussion

AU2302192590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1825 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 23/2/1990—At the resumption of the PNUC [Provisional National Unity Council] session, the representative of the Democratic Unity Party stated that his party invited to the formation of a parliamentary grouping of all parties that resolutely declared against totalitarianism. The citizens, the whole country, the speaker went on, wait for an action to this effect.

The speaker then said that he had been in the Victory Square in the evening of February 18 and had seen that 95 percent of the participants had had good intentions, and had demonstrated in an urbane manner, that all those had had nothing in common with the small group of persons that had caused disorder.

Decree Law Under Debate

AU2302171890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1520 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 23/2/1990—The decree-law on measures to protect state bodies, public institutions, headquarters of parties, the citizens' peaceful life and order is under debate and the participants in the council proceedings expressed the most various points of view. Thus, the representative of the National Peasant Party pointed out that the 18 February demonstration had not been violent but had turned toward violence because of the thoughtless actions of Deputy Prime Minister Gelu Voican Voiculescu. In reply, a high-ranking officer, member of the council from the National Salvation Front Council, stated that on 18 February he felt humiliated because he did not know what to order the military to do in the Victory Palace and asked that the law under debate provide a firm juridical framework to prevent similar events, and make provisions for similar situations so that efficient measures can be taken.

The representative of the Party of Romanian Freedom and Democracy said that the decree was well drafted, but proposed an amendment which provides for the dismantlement of those political parties whose members were found guilty, on firm evidence, of having participated in the reprovable events of 18 February, 1990.

In continuation of the Provisional National Unity Council's meeting, the representatives of the Centre Democratic Parties stated they should first look into the causes that generated the demonstrations in the capital city on 12, 28 and 29 January and on 18 February this year, and only afterwards pass on to drawing up laws apt to prevent such events.

Warning Not To Curb Freedom

AU2302175290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1707 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 23/2/1990—As part of the debates on the first item on agenda, the representative of the Association of Former Political Detainees warned that the dangerous situation generated by the violent breaking of hooliganic elements in the Victory Palace must not lead to measures apt to confine the free expression of citizens, their possibility to demonstrate in support of their ideas and claims.

In turn, the president of the Socialist Liberal Party blamed the government for what happened on February 18, since the police, subordinated to it, had not acted as it should have done. As a matter of fact, the speaker said, the draft decree-law should refer also to the next day's events. In that frame, the speaker vehemently protested against the way the representatives of the political parties had been treated by the delegation of the miners that had come that day to Bucharest. At that moment, the speaker was booed by part of the attendance. Going on, the speaker did not rule out the possibility that behind those who had committed hooliganic acts on February

18 be elements of the former Iron Guard or other interested groupings that, he opined, had to be looked for in former institutions that specialized in frame-ups. [sentence as received]

In concluding, he opined that a draft decree-law that left the way open to the establishment of arbitrariness should not be accepted. As a matter of fact, the speaker said, all deeds incriminated in the draft decree-law are stipulated in the Penal Code, which renders another normative act useless.

The session was adjourned and will be resumed. We shall come back with further details. 23 Feb 1838z dsn

'Heated But Constructive' Debates

AU2302175490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1716 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 23/2/1990—A large number of members of the Provisional National Unity Council took the floor during the debates on the first two items on the agenda.

Although the discussions are heated sometimes, but constructive, at that, most of the speakers representing various political formations disapproved of the vandalism committed by a small group of participants in the February 18 demonstration.

In context, a thorough analysis was requested of the exact circumstances in which the instances of violence occurred on that day, the precise identification of those behind the provocations so that all those involved with them would be brought to justice and punished according to their guilt. The speakers urged all citizens to show a sense of responsibility and self-control so that such moments of tension be avoided and the people may work in peace for having the country surpass the inherited disaster, and the government, the country's leadership take action for political and economic stabilization.

In connection with the text of the draft decree-law that had been previously endorsed by the constitutional, legal and human rights commission, most of the speakers agreed with most of its provisions, also advancing extensions or amendments.

The debates will continue after a break.

In a break, representatives of ten political parties with observer status told a Romanian news agency reporter that they will request a change of their present observer status into full membership when the meeting resumes.

In a memorandum that the representatives of these parties will put before the Executive Bureau after the break, they raise a number of arguments to support their claim. They also said that should their request not be granted, they would take it for a disregard of the principles of democracy as they were proclaimed by the 22 December revolution.

At the resumption of the Provisional Council's work, the representatives of ten political parties present in the proceedings with the status of observers advanced a protest demanding that their status be changed into members with full rights of the Provisional National Unity Council.

The Council decided by vote that that claim be debated at the last item on the current session's agenda.

Deterioration to 'Mutual Blaming'

AU2302214090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2015 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 23/2/1990—In the second part of the proceedings, the debates turned to mutual blaming with some of the council members forgetting about the subject-matter proper the draft decree-law.

President Ion Iliescu deplored the fact that the PNUC [Provisional National Unity Council] discussions slipped to questions that did no good to the cohesion of that body, in utter contradiction with the unity of views that characterized the works of the Executive Bureau. He urged coherence and sense of responsibility, the establishment of an atmosphere that should allow for the settlement of the questions on the agenda.

After more than seven-hours' debates on the first two items on the agenda, participated in by more than 40 speakers and sometimes turned into collateral discussions, the Provisional National Unity Council discussed by articles the decree-law on measures to protect the state bodies, political institutions, headquarters of parties and political formations, the quiet and lawful order. With a few amendments, the decree-law was passed with overwhelming majority.

Upon the proposal of Mr Oliviu Tocaciu, president of the National Reconstruction Party, the decree-law will be publicized after the proposed amendments are given legal wording.

The meeting proceedings continue.

Chitac Statement

AU2302214290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2020 GMT 23 Feb 90

["Minister of the Interior's Statement at PNUC Meeting"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 23/2/1990—I must accept before you and the whole world the blame for the fact that the police could do no more than detain 150 individuals, said General Mihai Chitac, Romania's minister of the interior, in the second part of the plenary meeting of the Provisional National Unity Council. They were investigated according to the criminal code procedure after the 18 February demonstrations. This afternoon I was informed that 39 of them were tried and proved guilty. Who did they obey, to what extent they were manipulated—the evidence is too slim for us to say.

This is what some of them said: I was given 300 lei by a gentleman who told me 'here's the money, you go and don't forget, I watch you.'

On the first measures that were taken for the future, General Chitac said: bayonets were given to the police and the military, and batons to the police, mounted police have been formed, and police dogs are being used; more police are brought from other cities of the country to meet the demands of Bucharest. We do not plan to use the police against demonstrators whom we protect; what we plan is to take action against those turbulent individuals who prevent demonstrations from being held.

We were given permission to increase the Ministry of the Interior's personnel by about 4,500.

Agenda Not 'Exhausted'

AU2302223590 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2200 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] The meeting of the Provisional National Unity Council ended in Bucharest. During discussion of the first point on the agenda, conclusions were drawn in connection with Sunday, 18 February. Events and measures advocated by the Council's Executive Bureau were also discussed.

The plenary session of the Council adopted a draft decree-law on measures to protect state bodies, political institutions, headquarters of parties and political formations, and citizens' peace and legal order.

Then Prime Minister Petre Roman presented a government report on the current situation of the national economy and measures taken for the coming three months, while Stefan Nicolae, [minister of agriculture and food industry], presented a report on measures established to give an impetus to farmers and to prepare the spring agricultural campaign.

Since the agenda could not be exhausted, it was decided that the next meeting be held on Friday, 2 March.

Tokes Concerned About Slowing Democratization

LD1602110190 Budapest MTI in English 1645 GMT 15 Feb 90

[Text] Budapest, February 15 (MTI)—Concluding his two-week official visit to Hungary, Laszlo Tokes held an international press conference in Budapest on Thursday. The Rev. Tokes, reformed clergyman of Timisoara and member of Romania's National Salvation Front Council, summed up the experience gained during his goodwill tour, and replied to questions.

Concerning the ethnic minorities of Romania, the Rev. Tokes said he did not consider the latest right-wing actions as dominant. Although the past days saw some chauvinistic, anti-Hungarian manifestations in Romania, the Rev. Tokes recalled that a Romanian-Hungarian friendship society was founded in Timisoara, the Romanian and Hungarian teachers of Oradea launched a dialogue on the solution of problems in education, and a Romanian-Hungarian friendship rally was held in Cluj-Napoca. At the same time, nationality conflicts in Tirgu Mures may spread and become a dominating factor in society.

The Rev. Tokes stressed he had not withdrawn from the Council of the National Salvation Front and was to participate until it continued to represent nationality interests.

Then, he proceeded to speak about the unfortunate slowing down of the process of democratization in Romania which was a source of disappointment for the people. He considered his meeting with U.S. Secretary of State Baker a friendly gesture.

He pledged to serve his country, especially the Hungarian minority, as a bishop if appointed, or in any other church post.

Iliescu Urges Creation of Antifascist Movement

AU2302211890 Paris AFP in English 1719 GMT 23 Feb 90

[By Bernard Estrade]

[Text] Bucharest, Feb 23 (AFP)—Romanian leader Ion Iliescu proposed the creation of a broad-based antifascist movement Friday in a bid to fend off extremist violence.

"All responsible and conscious democratic forces must form a common front to bar the road to new fascist movements," he told delegates of the Provisional Council of National Unity (PCNU) at a full meeting here.

The 253-member PCNU comprises members of the National Salvation Front, which assumed power after the ouster of dictator Nicolae Ceausescu in December, and opposition groups.

It is the first multi-party body in Romania in 45 years and holds legislative and executive powers until general elections due in May.

Mr. Iliescu Friday submitted a security bill to the council that was worked out with its executive bureau. It aims to prevent renewed violence similar to Sunday's when up to 300 demonstrators occupied government headquarters here.

Police and legal sources said Friday 140 people were arrested in connection with Sunday's violence. The prosecution has demanded jail terms of up to six months for 38 demonstrators since Thursday.

Twenty-five people have been released after paying fines or having been admonished, while the rest are still being detained.

The parents of Octavian Farcasanu, a mathematics student, have started a hunger strike to press for his release, saying he did not demonstrate in the anti-government rally. Mr. Farcasanu was the runner-up in the 1988 Mathematics Olympic Games in Canberra, according to his parents.

Mr. Iliescu said "it may well be that former members of the Iron Guard have been hiding among the demonstrators in a bid to recreate their network."

The Iron Guard was a feared Romanian fascist movement of the 1930's and early 1940's.

Mr. Iliescu announced the creation of a new body of state security "made up of new people for new tasks." He did not elaborate.

Delegates were expected to adopt the security bill later Friday after debate. The bill carries provisions outlawing "all acts of violence that jeopardize the democratic process" and authorizes demonstrations that strictly abide by the law.

It also states that public order is to be maintained by the interior ministry and, if necessary, through cooperation with the Defence Ministry.

The bill specifies that entering public facilities without authorization or creating disturbances in party headquarters will be punished with imprisonment of up to three years. Trespassing with arms or under the cover of night will entail jail terms of up to seven years.

On Thursday, a paper in the central city of Bacau raised the spectre of the Iron Guard for the first time since Mr. Ceausescu's fall on December 22.

The paper published a leaflet announcing that "all communists, socialists and other leftist scum will be wiped out." The bill, which the paper said showed the "true face of fascism," was signed "Heil Hitler. We will triumph."

Bucharest newspapers reflected the concern with headlines Friday saying "Who is Playing With Fire?" (Romania Libera), "The Iron Guard to the Government?" (Tineretul Liber) and "Will the Legion Wake Up?" (Adeverul).

The PCNU is to hear a report on the economic situation by Prime Minister Petre Roman that will include a number of economic measures for a three-month recovery.

Agricultural Minister Stefen Nicolae will also submit a package assisting farmers in the upcoming sowing season.

The ROMPRES news agency meanwhile announced that nine former officials in the central city of Cluj who were closely linked to Mr. Ceausescu will be brought to trial in about two weeks.

The defendants have been charged with "genocide, complicity in genocide and homicide," the agency said quoting military prosecutor Colonel Tit Liviu Domsa.

Former officials have already been tried in Sibiu and Bucharest. Twenty-one people will stand trial in Timisoara starting March 2, but charges are still to be brought against another 1,000 for their part in the upheaval.

* Brucan on Mass Meetings, Upcoming Elections

27000003A Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 31 Jan 90 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Silviu Brucan, member of the Council of the National Salvation Front, by ROMANIA LIBERA reporter U. Valureanu: "The Separation of Political Activity From State Power Will Take Place in the Near Future"]

[Text] [ROMANIA LIBERA] There has been much discussion about whether or not the Front is a temporary governing organ.

[Brucan] I do not know about any authorized statement on this subject. The impression that we have a limited mandate and that we are only a provisional government was accredited by our adversaries for the purpose of preventing us from participating in the elections and to pave the way for their victory in the elections. On the contrary, I have said from the very beginning that the Front would participate in the elections. Here is proof: In the statement which I made to THE FINANCIAL TIMES on 29 December 1989 I stated that "the National Salvation Front will participate in the elections as a political power. We should not be a party. We will run candidates." In LE MONDE of 30 December 1989 I made the following reply to the question: "Will the Front participate in the elections?" "Yes, we will run candidates everywhere. The Front will participate in the voting but we will hand over the power to the government which achieves a parliamentary majority."

[ROMANIA LIBERA] In connection with the decision of the Front to participate in the elections complaints are being heard from some parties because the Front will be taking part in the May 1990 elections as both a "player" and a "referee."

[Brucan] I think that this accusation is just. In the 22 December statement of the Front, the principle of separation of powers in the state was affirmed but we have not yet put it into application. I consider this principle to be fundamental in a democracy. To quote Montesquieu, the classical author of this principle, we know that every power has an inherent tendency toward abuse and, as he said, a power which restricts power must be created to prevent abuse. But the principle of separation of powers in the state could not be put into practice until after the elections when a legislative power will take shape in the person of parliament, a power which is different and independent from the executive power (the government and the president) and from the judicial power. For the time being we will try to set the boundaries for the state organ with legislative power, in which the other political

parties would be able to participate in one form or another and which would be in operation until the 20 May elections. In regard to the National Salvation Front, from the moment that it becomes a political organism involved in the electoral battle, it is necessary that it acquire its own status, different and independent from the state organ of legislative power mentioned above. In a word, we must find a generally acceptable solution in which the referee will not also be a player. I believe and hope that by constructive cooperation with the other parties we will properly resolve this problem.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] When do you think that the Front will put into operation one of its first decrees on the separation of political activity from state power?
[Brucan] We propose to do this in the near future.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] We are here after "hot Sunday" in Victory Square. What is your opinion about these demonstrations?
[Brucan] In my opinion it would have been much better if they both had been avoided. They created moments of tension for us and for those who oppose us. In the evening, for example, when they were leaving the building, the leaders of the three parties realized that in front of them there were only people who supported the Front, fervently. They left by the back way. They asked for an escort and cars so that nothing would happen to them. Therefore I think that it would have been better if this entire situation had been avoided.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Do you think that it is a good thing for a meeting organized by a party to be accompanied immediately and in the same place by a counter-meeting for which dramatic announcements are made on television? Does this not contribute to the sharpening of the spirit of confrontation?
[Brucan] I do not think that this is a good thing. It would have been a good thing if there were no demonstrations.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] But even under conditions in which there was still a meeting.
[Brucan] We agreed in a certain way (with the three parties which organized Sunday's meeting—ROMANIA LIBERA editor's note), that they could have a meeting in University Square; we told those who wanted to come to hold it in Banu Manta. If the agreement had been respected such a situation would not have occurred. But, from the beginning they intended to come to Victory Square. All the posters which they pasted on the streets said "Come to Rosetti Square, so we can go to Victory Square." That does not seem right to me.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] A very tense situation was created. The only thing lacking was a spark.
[Brucan] I was very much afraid that there would be a disaster. Four people were injured. I was afraid that there would be a confrontation and that we would have more victims.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] The television should have been more restrained in broadcasting alarming appeals transmitted from the studio.
[Brucan] The television was much too agitated. There were some appeals which were much too agitated, and this is not in keeping with its role.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] What is your opinion about Sunday's talks between the leaders of the Front and the representatives of the three parties? In spite of the open discussions and some replies which are sometimes not very courteous, can these conversations be regarded as a positive step in the dialogue?
[Brucan] I believe that, finally, we and they are convinced of the need for a civilized dialogue. I hope that this will be the common conclusion which is being reached. We have learned from this situation that we should not meet only with these parties. There will be meetings with all parties.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] When will the first of these meetings, with all the parties officially registered so far, be?
[Brucan] Thursday.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Does the political situation on Monday justify the organization of another mass meeting—during working hours and, I imagine, without obtaining the necessary permit in advance?
[Brucan] It does not justify it but it should be understood, that, from what they have seen on television and heard on the radio, people throughout the country had the impression that the historic parties carried out a coup, a putsch, to topple the Front and therefore they hurried to get here. A large group of miners from Maramures came by train to Bucharest, in work clothes, with their metal helmets on their heads. There was no talk of a permit.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] What is your opinion about the situation created Monday in front of the headquarters of the peasant and liberal parties? Does the presence in the leadership of these parties of persons who have lived abroad for a long time—as a result of the severe oppression to which they were subjected in the past because of their political convictions—violate the laws of the country in any way?
[Brucan] The situation created Monday in front of the headquarters of these parties is profoundly regrettable. The leaders of these parties felt what we felt the whole week, each evening we were the target of noisy demonstrations in front of our headquarters. I hope that now they are convinced that the organization of these demonstrations is a double-edged sword and that they will sit at the table for civilized discussions, without pressure from the streets. As for the Romanians who have lived abroad, we welcome their return to the country and we hope that they will work to democratize the country and to reconstruct its economy.

[ROMANIA LIBERA] Will representatives of the three parties which took part in the discussions on Sunday also participate in Thursday's meeting?
[Brucan] When we parted on Sunday evening they promised to come, proposing that each party would be represented by three delegates, which was accepted. More

than 15 parties have been registered so far; we will carry on discussions and make decisions with those who are present. One thing I learned from the experience of the meeting with the three parties, in which the promises were not kept, was that from now on we will be meeting with all the parties.

*** Dialogue Among Political Parties Urged**

*** NSF, Demonstrations Viewed**

90EB0253A Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 31 Jan 90 p 2

[Statements by Corneliu Coposu, Sergiu Cunescu, Radu Campeanu, and Dinu Patriciu; place and date not given: "For Dialogue!"]

[Text] [ADEVARUL] What do you think are the prospects for continuing the dialogue between the political parties and the Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF]?

[Coposu] We have always considered dialogue to be necessary and we continue to hold this position. A prime condition for dialogue is that there be no unrealistic distortions and interpretations and that there be no incitements. We have arrived at some encouraging results with Mr. Iliescu and Mr. Roman regarding establishment of mutual viewpoints, and we feel that the positions can be brought closer together in all areas. We believe that we will be able to continue the dialogue on Thursday if the situation is normalized.

[ADEVARUL] What is your opinion of the Sunday and Monday demonstrations?

[Coposu] The Sunday demonstrations had the sole aim of demanding that the Council of the NSF abandon its monopoly on power so as to be able to run in the elections without suspicion, at the same time complying with its own decree on separation of powers and agreeing to formation of a National Unity Council on which all parties and persons in the country are represented.

The demonstration held by our party, in which three other new parties participated along with the Liberals and Social Democrats, as did also politically uncommitted citizens, was peaceful, civilized, and disciplined. We did not permit signs attacking individuals. If such signs were displayed, they were not those of the organizations referred to. Everything that has been said and written about our aggressive intentions is pure fabrication.

An intimidation demonstration was organized on Monday. In it there were slanderous signs aimed at me, alleging that I had left the country—despite the fact that I did not cross the border in 1938—that I had become a landowner, even though I have never owned a bit of land, that my pockets were full of dollars, and that I paid people to take part in the demonstration, even though my material situation is not such to allow me to do so. I was asked provocative questions about my absence from the December revolution, despite the fact that on 21 and 22 December I was under terrorist fire in all stages of the confrontation. I was in communist prisons for 17 and ½ years, I was placed under house arrest, and up to 22 December I was one of the most closely watched persons in Bucharest.

[ADEVARUL] What do you think are the prospects for continuing the dialogue at this point in the social and political life of the country?

[Campeaunu and Patriciu] We participated in an open and constructive dialogue with Mr. Iliescu and with Prime Minister Petre Roman, during which questions were raised about integration of the political forces currently being organized into the decisionmaking process, and about supervision and coordination of the democratic evolution of the process now taking place in the country. At the round table we presented four proposals, which we would like to point out now, inasmuch as they clarify our position. First of all we want to say that not for a moment has the PNL (National Liberal Party) demanded abolition of the NSF. It has rather lent its support to a method whereby political forces can participate in the decisionmaking process within the Council of the NSF, which, as Mr. Roman said on Saturday evening, may be renamed. We have proposed the designation National Unity Front, in which it would be guaranteed that absolutely all the political groupings formed could democratically express a diversity of viewpoints. We made this proposal with the aim of avoiding confusion between the NSF as a political force, which obviously has every right to participate in the elections, and the NSF Council, which is currently the legislative and political power in the country at this time. The danger of return to totalitarianism exists if this confusion is not removed.

Another idea proposed is that of forming a body in which representatives of all the political groups participate to monitor the objectivity and impartial attitude of radio and television broadcasts.

Yesterday, 29 January, we noted the serious manipulation of men of good faith, whose ideas and deeds we do not support and who had been sent by instigators of violence. I quote: "We want to sell out the country to foreigners." This was done directly and shamelessly by the dictatorship. By no means do the provisions included in our program in connection with development of technology, modernization, and improvement in the efficiency of Romanian economic structures represent a sellout of the country; they rather represent integration into world trade.

We want to take this opportunity to respond to accusations. The statements to the effect that the demonstrators on Sunday, 28 January, were paid and were given alcohol to drink, and that members of the PNL are accustomed to violence and are maliciously reprehensible. The persons making the statements were the ones

who incited violence, and we believe that those who do this are contributing to chaos and instability in the country. We have been accused of action aimed at destabilizing the political situation. This is a serious distortion of the truth. The demonstration organized by the PNL was perfectly legal. We must tell you that, following the discussion held with Mr. Iliescu on Saturday, 27 January, we tried to keep the demonstrators in University Square and outside PNL headquarters, but it was impossible to keep them in these places with tens of thousands of citizens surging toward Victory Square. In an organized context PNL representatives, under the supervision of 500 policemen carrying shields, were the last to enter Victory Square. At 1700 we withdrew from Victory Square. We do not believe that politics can be conducted in the street, but at the same time the sentiments and wishes of public opinion cannot be disregarded. We demand punishment of all the instigators to violence as provided by law, because the democratic process must proceed normally.

We will resume the dialogue on Thursday morning [1 February] at 1000, as agreed by the political groupings and Mr. Iliescu.

[Cunesco] It is clear that dialogue is the only viable way of establishing democratic life in our country. Moreover, compromising the dialogue could lead to confrontation, polarization of power, and ultimately to totalitarian practices.

Our country cannot enter the ranks of civilized states unless it fully adopts the rules of democracy in political life, and dialogue is the necessary, but not always sufficient, condition.

Our party, which has been involved in the political and social life of the country for more than 100 years, rests on a foundation of sound ideas, and dialogue can represent only an excellent occasion for making a contribution to establish order in the political arena of the country, now that we are preparing finally to enter into the letter and spirit of democracy. Inasmuch as a dialogue presupposes the existence of partners, we express our hope that all the participants are motivated by good will.

We do not hide the fact that, after the Romanian people's tragic experience of 50 years, suspicions may arise that totalitarian tendencies may be revived, that elements of the dictatorial structures may find a place for themselves in our political life, and that elements of the former regime might open the back door to Ceausescu-Stalinist practices.

It is the duty of the NSF Council above all to dispel these suspicions. We understand the difficulties that it is encountering, but we cannot accept its irritating, evasive answers, and especially its refusals to respond.

We do not believe in a dialoge as a pretext for sterile polemics or for mutual, pointless fingerpointing and accusations.

The Romanian Social Democratic Party believes that political problems can never be solved in the street. We have experience of long standing in this regard. Every party can bring its supporters into demonstrations that may start in a disciplined manner but often become uncontrollable and degenerate into displays of bitterness. To be objective, we Romanian Social Democrats cannot approve such methods leading to a state of political uncertainty and absolutely undesirable tensions among the people. We must explain. The Romanian Social Democratic Party did not participate officially and in an organized fashion in the 28 January demonstration, as has erroneously been asserted. Accompanied by one of the secretaries, Mr. Mircea Stanescu, we were received by Mr. Ion Iliescu and presented our party's viewpoint on the situation created by the NSF declaration of intent to participate in the elections. The opinion of the party—shared by any person who has taken note of the numerous declarations made by the NSF and of the decree on separation of legislative from political power—is that the NSF has two obligations: one legal and one moral. First of all, while by no means disputing the political value of the NSF, we asked Mr. Iliescu to state his position so that public opinion might be clearly informed of the status assumed by the NSF. Secondly, we asked Mr. Iliescu to state as a matter of principle that, in the event the NSF runs in the elections as it has indicated in public that it will, it has the obligation of doing so legally. That is to say, it has the obligation of registering with the court as a party or political organization, filing a platform program, bylaws, a list of members, and so forth, so that we can be mutually informed about our conduct in preparation for the election campaign. Then, after implicitly rejecting the position of the NSF Council by this poltical gesture, it would automatically form a new authority temporary in nature until the elections are held, one invested with legislative power, a national unity council which would include representatives of all the political parties and persons in the country.

* NSF Role Examined

90EB0253A Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 1 Feb 90 p 2

[Statements by Marius Carciumaru, Tache Viorel Pirvulescu, Margarit Duicu; place and date not given: "For Dialogue!"]

[Text] [Carciumaru] Our party believes that the difficult moments which any transitional period involves can be overcome by constructive dialogue in which all positions expressed are given a hearing and which leads to achievement of a consensus among the options expressed. From the outset our party has stated that it supports the National Salvation Front [NSF], because we feel that only by doing so can we ensure the social and economic stability permitting conduct of political life in a democratic framework. We regretfully must express our concern over the way in which this dialogue began, that is, by the appearance of a tendency toward separation of the

opposition parties, which on Sunday, 28 January, rejected the holding of this dialogue with all the political formations present. Our party expects this dialogue between the NSF and the other political forces to bring about a national consensus on the social and economic problems confronting Romania, a consensus in which the political framework will be a factor in stability and clearcut emergence of democratic means of expression of the character of each political organization. We hope that this dialogue will clarify the political status of the NSF, and for this reason we support the proposal made that the members of the NSF Council state their political coloration while continuing to discharge the responsibilities they have assumed. At the same time, we propose that all political organizations take part through their designated representatives in the making of decisions of national interest. We also believe it to be necessary for the participating political organizations to put aside pride and vanity when it is a question of resolving issues relating to the interests of the Romanian nation.

Sunday was a difficult moment for the liberty, democracy, and dignity of Romania. This is so because, as the broadcasts showed, the opposition parties demanded dissolution of the NSF, thereby questioning the legitimacy of this body. But let us not forget that if this legitimacy is questioned, then so is the legitimacy of the very existence of the parties. The parties have been formed precisely because of the creation of this body, the NSF. We believe the Sunday and Monday demonstrations, in which permanent members and supporters of our party participated in support of the Front, to be an expression of the desire of the Romanian people for social and economic stability. Our party believes that productive activity conducted in an atmosphere of political calm and peace is the only way to move the country forward to liberty, democracy, and dignity.

[Pirvulescu] The success of this dialogue will depend primarily on how the NSF succeeds in dealing with it. As long as the NSF clearly and objectively dissociates itself from the organization which recently announced its participation in the elections and the provisional organ of state power, speaking exclusively in the name of the latter and of the general interests of the Romanian people, we believe that this dialogue will be constructive and contribute to stability of the country, strengthening of the democratization process, and assurance of an atmosphere of order and calm favoring normal activities in the country and the holding of truly free and democratic elections. Secondly, it is necessary for the parties to involve themselves in these discussions out of a sincere desire to contribute to the strengthening of democracy and the Romanian economy. This is not the time for political ambitions and antagonism between the parties; the interests of the country come first now. Only under these truly patriotic conditions do we believe that we serve the interests of the country.

I would like to point out that we are the first party to express a clearcut opinion on the demonstrations and meetings, and especially on the unauthorized ones, both on Saturday on the occasion of the discussion with representatives of all the parties concerning the draft election law and on Sunday evening during the television broadcast. As ecologists, as a party holding a clearcut centrist position, determined by ecologic concerns themselves, as a free party (I must note that as of this date we seem to be the only party that has not formed a coalition with or supported other political organizations), we are squarely against these demonstrations. They can easily be manipulated or evily disposed or irresponsible elements can profit from them.

It is in the peaceful nature of the Romanian people to arrive at the solution to any problem through negotiations so long as this is possible.

We advocate the creation of an atmosphere of calm, understanding, work, and physical and moral cleanliness in Romania, and so we do not agree, and never will, to demonstrations of force and anarchy.

[Duicu] We declare ourselves to be categorically in favor of continuing dialogue with the NSF and with all parties for stabilization of the political and social life of the country. We stress that the Democratic Party, which has its headquarters in Cluj, will support NSF actions aimed at establishing true multiparty democracy in Romania. We will also dissociate ourselves from any abusive, totalitarian attitude, or one which seeks to diminish true democracy to the slightest extent. We are for open and sincere dialogue both with the NSF and with all other political parties. This very day, 31 January, a delegation of our party has been invited to a discussion with the National Council of the NSF.

As for the activities of the NSF, we believe that the Front adopts fluctuating positions, from the political and especially from the economic and social viewpoints. The NSF also hesitates to clarify both its political coloration and its position in discussions with the other political parties. We have the vague impression that the National Council of the NSF is displaying an attitude of reserve and fear in a sincere and open dialogue with the other political parties of the country.

In connection with the position of the Democratic Party with headquarters in Cluj relative to the three parties on the right, we must state that, inasmuch as we are part of a grouping of seven democratic parties in the center, our position relative both to the parties of the right and to the parties of the left is very clear. Consequently, we emphasize that we want to be a political force of balance in the current political situation, which is particularly complex and fluid. The answer to this problem is contained in the communique presented on Free Romanian Television on 28 January, which states that "the Ecologist-Humanist Party of Arad, the Democratic Unity Party, the Democratic Party with headquarters in Cluj, the National Democratic Party, the Independent Magyar Party with headquarters in Tirgu Mures and Cluj, the Progressive Democratic Party, and the Free Democratic Party have formed a democratic grouping of the center,

one which is open to all democratic parties, for the purpose of guaranteeing true democracy in our country. The grouping of democratic parties of the center also seeks to avoid an increase in political destabilization in the country."

In conclusion, please allow me to present certain future goals of the Democratic Party with headquarters in Cluj, ones closely linked to the subject under discussion. We are in the stage of mass campaigns. Specifically, we are organizing regional, local, and national democratic circles and nuclei. There are already more than 30 regional circles and many requests have been received for political documentation for formation of other new circles. In the future we intend to maintain and broaden the current democratic centrist grouping for the sake of political stabilization and for holding of the election campaign and the elections in May of this year under legal and democratic conditions, elections expressing the true firm will of the entire people to eliminate any attempt to establish neocommunism of any type and to create true multiparty democracy.

Reportage on Slovenia-Serbia Dispute

Markovic Urged To Intervene

LD2302193190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1722 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 23 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Federation's Fund for the Less Developed Sections today called on Yugoslav Premier Ante Markovic to promptly intervene concerning yesterday's decision by the Slovenian Government no longer to allocate its contributions to Kosovo which is part of the Republic of Serbia.

The decision of the Government of Yugoslavia's Republic Slovenia in fact continues an economic [word indistinct], with Serbia which in its background has a political dimension—the conflict over the policy being implemented in the Province of Kosovo where Albanian separatists stage increasingly frequent strikes and demonstrations.

Early last December, Serbia broke economic relations with Slovenia because of what it asserted as Slovenia's support for Albanian separatists. The Slovenian Government's decision yesterday was an "answer" to Serbia and part of counter-measures which also include Slovenia's refusal to pay to the federal budget its allocations to economic investments in Serbia, in addition to disrupting the payment of solidarity relief earmarked for Serbia's sections hit by natural disasters.

The Institution of the Fund for the Country's Less Developed Sections warned today that Slovenia's decision represented an attack on the legal state. The attack was said to be unprecedented in the postwar Yugoslav history because of opening up space for each of the federal units to respect only the parts they prefer in the federal Constitution.

The federal government also holds that Slovenia's decision is in discrepancy with the federal law and points out that there is legal possibility of compelling Slovenia to pay its contributions. In order to preclude any compulsory payments, the Slovenian Government has already instructed its competent services not to implement the possibly imposed blockade on the republic's budget.

The worsening of the Slovenian-Serbian economic conflict is another proof of the failure of the two republics' prime ministers' recent meeting initiated by Premier Markovic.

The federal government has the next move, for its program of economic reforms relies, among other things, on the unified Yugoslav market.

Slovene Official Explains Talks

AU2202093790 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 13 Feb 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Nothing Happened That Was Not in the Public Statement"]

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 12 Feb—At the latest session of the Slovene Assembly, the delegates asked the Executive Council several questions which concerned the talks between representatives of the Slovene and the Serbian Executive Councils at the initiative of Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic. The Slovene Democratic Alliance also asked several questions through the public media. Executive Council Vice President Janez Bohoric answered the questions and quandaries during the debate in the Sociopolitical Chamber of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. [passage omitted]

"As regards the meeting between the presidents of the two executive councils in the presence of President Markovic, I can tell you that I, as well as Comrades Samar, Slavinc, and Ribaric, also took part in the talks. All together there were five members of the Republican Executive Council taking part in the talks. In this way we wanted to demonstrate that we were taking the talks seriously and responsibly, and therefore we did not leave behind anybody who could competently assist in taking stands on the several problems.

"The suggestion was made that the meeting should be held in the protocol building of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, but we turned it down because we assessed that the situation demanded that the meeting be held on the Federal Executive Council premises and in the presence of its president, because it was a matter of problems for the solution of which everybody bears his share of responsibility. Our argument to this effect was accepted. After the opening of the talks, attended by President Markovic, the two delegations continued their talks by themselves, and the Federal Executive Council president joined us again for the concluding part of the talks.

"Difficulties began right away, when the subjects of the talks were to be determined. It was therefore very difficult to begin the talks at all. Since President Sinigoj was the first to speak, he of course immediately set the first point of the agenda as: to resolve the problem of the blockade and to discontinue the activities that harm both republics.

"The Serbian side immediately countered by saying that one cannot discuss this question unless at the same time we discuss the causes that have led to the blockade. The causes they cited were our attitude to and our policy on Kosovo. We tried to separate these two matters, and in essence we threatened that we would not talk and that the meeting might end at once if the condition for the talks about the blockade problems was our revoking our stands on the Kosovo policy.

"Merely the talks about the agenda lasted a considerable time, until the Serbian side finally accepted that we should discuss the Kosovo policy after we analyzed the blockade, but in this context they rejected the term blockade. They even reproached us for not being fair because we informed the public that the president of the Executive Council of Slovenia had accepted the suggestion by President Markovic for the two presidents to

meet at his place and to discuss the blockade. They cited Markovic as saying not that we should talk about the blockade, but that we should discuss all the problems including the way of ensuring an unhindered flow of people, goods, capital, and so forth. Our stand was that for us this is one and the same thing, and that by blockade we understand the complex of measures that prevent this flow.

"The next question concerned the public statement on this meeting. The entire substance of the talks in fact referred to and concerned the shaping of this statement for the public. Therefore I must say that we simply cannot proffer any more information for the simple reason that the two pages of the statement published contain everything that we have agreed upon. In this connection we had to bargain about every word of the public statement. In the second part, which refers to the Kosovo policy, for instance, we clearly said that we cannot change our views and our reservations about the inefficiency of the present policy, and that we are firmly convinced that the policy should be changed. We asserted that since 1981 and up to the present, enough evidence has become available to show that the Kosovo policy has not changed and that it should therefore change, or else we cannot talk about Kosovo at all. Into this part of the statement we thus brought the elements that are clearly shown in the public statement by the demand for a change of the Kosovo policy, for democratization, and for ensuring human rights, but each word required much arguing. "Of course there was also much discussion about what should come at the beginning and what at the end of the public statement, and such things.

"Again I assure you that nothing else happened in the one-and-a- half-hour talks except what was released to the public. Nevertheless, on leaving for home, we all had a good feeling that we made a step along the long road of normalization of relations. We broke the ice, but the water is still freezing cold." [passage omitted]

Serbian Premier on Talks

AU2302083790 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Feb 90 p 5

[Unattributed report: "The Problem Is Not on Our Side"]

[Text] At a joint session of all three chambers of the Serbian Assembly, the delegates heard the report by Serbian Executive Council President Stanko Radmilovic on the talks that were conducted with the representatives of the Slovene Executive Council.

Stressing the insistence that the talks be principled and on an equal footing, Radmilovic said that the unilateral proposal for talks about the so-called economic blockade of Slovenia by Serbia was not accepted because it was thought that the blockade did not exist. Our refusal to hold these talks would have been at variance with the demand for Yugoslavia to energetically work on curbing Albanian separatism and terrorism in Kosovo. Besides, Serbia did not want to be blamed for a possible failure of reforms because it had refused to hold the talks. Slovenia has announced that it will stop its contributions to the Fund for Undeveloped Regions because of the alleged blockade, although it is quite clear that even without this reason, Slovenia has negative attitudes toward these contributions. This is evident from its initiative for changes to the federal Constitution.

Apart from what was written in the statement issued nothing else was said, Radmilovic said stressing that the level and pace of economic relations between the Serbian and Slovene economies will depend on overall relations. Although during the talks it was stated that Slovenia's first goodwill gesture would be to send more militiamen to Kosovo, so far this has not been done, Radmilovic said. Under the present conditions, the Executive Council of Serbia cannot and will not try to persuade the citizens of Serbia to ask for Slovene products and will not exert pressure on the Serbian economy to intensify its economic cooperation with Slovenia. The problem is not on our side, Stanko Radmilovic said to Serbian Assembly delegates.

'Nothing Agreed' in Talks

AU2302163190 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Feb 90 p 2

[Dragoljub Zarkovic commentary: "Cards on the Table and an Ace up the Sleeve"]

[Text] Ante Markovic has been stringing one success after another lately. Is one of his projects for a better Yugoslavia now facing a crash? He started the initiative of reconciling Serbia and Slovenia at the beginning of February, and when organizing the meeting of the heads of two republican governments, among other things, he said the following: "We expect them to sit and put all cards on the table." He did not even suspect then that everything would turn into a game of poker.

The negotiations between the two federal units were conducted according to all the top diplomatic rules as if the sides involved were, God forbid, at war. The announcement that appeared then brought some hope that things would start improving. It said, to paraphrase it, that "the sides in dispute" agree that one needs to remove all obstacles to the free Yugoslav market, and "as regards the Yugoslav policy on Kosovo," agreed that that policy should be carried out in such a way that one can ensure the safety and peaceful life of all peoples and nationalities and affirm democracy, human rights, and legality and constitutionality in Kosovo.

The same evening, when his plane landed at Brnik Airport, Dusan Sinigoj, president of the Slovene Executive Council, told journalists: "The blockade has not been lifted yet." Serbian Premier Stanko Radmilovic did not say anything at that time, but the author of this text until this day has to walk from one Belgrade tobacconist to another in order to buy "Filter 57 [a brand of Slovene cigarettes]."

Why then was this announcement issued which hinted that a step toward reconciliation had been made?

It seems that its only point was to avoid the anger of the rest of Yugoslavia, as well as of the electorate, being vented on the heads of the negotiators. Here they have publicly shown their good will, put that on a piece of paper, and then urgently placed that piece of paper on the top of a voluminous pile of barren political stances that do not oblige anybody at all. That both sides cared exclusively about the polish can be seen from the fact that participants in the negotiations have admitted that complications "arose when drafting the announcement for the public and that they negotiated every word."

Before that they negotiated about where the meeting was to take place. Slovenes consider it to be a great success of their "diplomacy" that the meeting was not held at a "Serbian official building," but at the building of the Federal Executive Council, that is, on neutral territory. Speaking at the Serbian Assembly the day before yesterday, Stanko Radmilovic said that as a first condition, the delegation by no means wanted to accept a humiliating position. Both sides stressed that there have been no secret agreements and that only what has been put into the announcement has been agreed upon.

Therefore, nothing has been agreed upon, because, when they returned home, everything continued unchanged. Slovenia obviously has a one-sided view on Kosovo events and the Serbian Executive Council claims that it did not impose the boycott, so, they say, it cannot lift it either. Therefore, they say, as long as Slovenia continued to interfere with some basic questions concerning Serbian interests in Kosovo, it will be difficult to persuade "Serbian buyers to buy Slovene goods."

Therefore, the situation today is worse than it was yesterday. One of Markovic's initiatives and a bureaucratic paper announcement are left behind us and crude reality is before us. The rift is bigger and bigger and the chances of negotiators meeting again seem to be smaller than about 20 days ago.

However, that is not a reason not to repeat the effort, because if the players from the last game fail to do so, cards will be dealt by somebody else this time.

LCY Presidency Seeks Congress Resumption

LD2302185890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1712 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 23 (TANJUG)—The League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Presidency assessed today that basis exist [as received] for the resumption of the 14th special congress of Yugoslav Communists. The congress was interrupted after three days of work, at the end of last January, because of the conflict of concepts regarding the LCY's future.

A document drawn up by the LCY Presidency working group proposes democratization of relations in the Communist Party, new organisational solutions and the defining of program and political goals in keeping with the party model of organisation and a democratic political development of the Yugoslav society.

It was also proposed that a special document set out stands and commitments from documents prepared for the 14th LCY special congress on the political reform, the political system, the LCY's transformation, the resolution of the situation in the troubled Yugoslav province of Kosovo and the status of Yugoslav minorities in other countries.

The document proposes that the regular congress of Yugoslav Communists be convened at the earliest possible opportunity, within one year at the latest. At the congress the LCY's new program and statute would be adopted.

Pancevski Cited on LCY Congress Agenda

LD2402211890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1616 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] Skopje, 24 Feb (TANJUG)—Milan Pancevski, president of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee Presidium, believes that the central and provincial committees, having invested the maximum creative effort in finding true solutions, can positively answer the principled question of whether a consensus on vital questions in the preparations for the continuation of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress is possible. In Pancevski's opinion, the proof of this is the agreed views on those questions on which there were differences, as well as on the need to continue the congress. In this context he referred to a document which was approved yesterday by the LCY Central Committee Presidium and sent on for discussion in the central and provincial committees of the LC.

According to Pancevski, after the expression of the opinions of the party membership and organs of the LC, a sufficiently broad, democratic, principled, and consistent platform will be created which will facilitate the completion of the LCY's program documents.

According to him, an enormous number of members of the LC and organs and organizations will stand behind these agreed principled political orientations. If, however, despite this, it happens that a certain part of the LC does not accept these orientations, this will be exclusively because of this leadership's attitude toward the LCY's basic and jointly established program orientations. It will be an expression of the lack of readiness to take part in drafting and implementing a policy which will be an expression of a Yugoslavian synthesis.

Pancevski said that some Slovene LC organs would not be able to become objectively involved in the Yugoslav synthesis unless they amend some political orientations and stands. These are the Slovene stands on Yugoslav

confederation, the absence of orientation to socialism in the electoral programme of the Slovene LC, as well as the stands referring to the creation of national armies. In order that it be included in the LCY again, the Slovene LC must renounce the concept of the LCY as the league of leagues, as well as the negation of the LC as a whole and of its organs, in Pancevski's opinion.

Proceeding from such an essence of relations and problems in the LCY, Pancevski proposed several strategic orientations for the LCY's further transformation and for the continuation of the suspended congress.

First of all, the LCY Central Committee and all parts of the LC must round up and coordinate to the maximum the orientations and stands in the documents, in order that a relatively consistent and progressive political platform may be produced. The LCY must remain a united political organization which will consist of Communists and their republican and provincial organizations. A party conceived in such a way would act as united in program-political and organizational sense. Unity in the LCY should be implemented and ensured through the development of democratic relations. It should be the expression of programmatic, creative, and other orientations and potential. The LCY unity should be expressed as a dialectic unity of the party as a whole and of its parts.

It is necessary to be acknowledged, Pancevski added, that no part of the LC can impose itself on the others and even less can it abolish the LCY. And finally, if in the course of further preparations harmonized programmatic documents are created, whose essence will be about democratic socialism in Yugoslavia, the crucial political preconditions will be created for the continuation of the work of the 14th Extraordinary LCY congress and its successful completion by adopting a Yugoslav political platform.

Then Pancevski went on to say that the Macedonian LC Central Committee should, while adopting its final assessments and stances, make significant additions and changes that will more comprehensively express the true commitments of the Macedonian LC members and the stands of the programmatic document of the 10th congress.

Pancevski devoted a considerable part of his address to the reasons behind the adjournment of the 14th congress by stressing that they should be first sought amongst the key problems and controversies facing society and the differing approaches to some fundamental issues regarding the country's development. In Pancevski's opinion this is the essential point, this is a matter of hidden or open resistance to changing the present economic and political relations.

The reasons behind the adjournment of the 14th congress also lay with the attitude of certain leading political structures toward radical changes, something that in effect amounted to serious differences of opinion. There are obviously, significant forces that would like to retain their monopoly and priviliges and preserve their partial interests. There are also forces who would like, in the name of the reforms, to change or destroy the principal achievements and values of society and the Yugoslav community as a whole.

It is therefore a logical fact that there are also differences of opinion regarding the role and character of the LCY and its unity.

More Reportage on Unrest, Reaction in Kosovo

Pristina Curfew Violated

LD2302223590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2125 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, 23 Feb (TANJUG)—The call by the Kosovo branch of the Association for a Yugoslav Democratic Initiative [AYDI] to turn off the lights and to light candles this evening at 2100 [2000 GMT] when the curfew in Pristina begins, was accepted only partially.

AYDI's call was accepted on a large scale only by the inhabitants of the settlements of Dragodalj, Taslidza, and Vranjevac. In the biggest settlement, Ulpijana, relatively few candles were burning.

Reporters cannot say anything about "the rattling of keys," which was to symbolically signify the demand to find a "key" to the Kosovo problem because this sort of thing could not be heard from the street.

Shouts and banging could however be heard again, and several shots were fired. Nevertheless, it was far quieter than the previous night when shots were fired throughout Pristina, and there were also barricades in the streets. However, fires were seen this evening in the outskirts of Pristina as if, for

Pec Gunfire Frightens Serbs, Others

LD2402215690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2112 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] Pec, 24 Feb (TANJUG)—Beginning at 2100 Albanian separatists, nationalists, and terrorists caused a display of fireworks in Pec tonight, the likes of which is usually seen when the New Year is celebrated, as they began shooting firearms. In addition, for the third night in a row all of Pec echoed with the rattle and clatter of metal things and candles were lit in the windows of Albanian homes, while in the suburbs of Kapesnica loud shouts for democracy were heard. All this, orchestrated of course by the Kosovo alternative movements, brings more anxiety and fear into the homes of the remaining Serbs and Montenegrins.

Albanian 'Rampage' in Titova Mitrovica

LD2602133190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1142 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Titova Mitrovica, 26 Feb (TANJUG)—Last night, for the third consecutive night, Albanian terrorists

and nationalists in the Titova Mitrovica municipality area started a rampage and armed commotion the moment the curfew was in effect.

The worst situation, however, is in the local communities of Bair and Sitnica. Residents of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality from the suburb of Crepociglana on several occasions have asked the security forces for help. In the village of Svinjare near Titova Mitrovica a protest meeting of citizens of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality was held last night which was also attended by several Albanians, representatives of the joint militia unit, and people from the Bozur association in Kosovo Polje.

At this meeting its participants resolutely condemned the attack by Albanian terrorists and nationalists in Kosovo Polje on Mitar Balevic and Zoran Grujic and their Albanian neighbors' nightly din, commition, and shooting since this makes the villagers anxious and nervous. Although this was denied by several Albanians there who claimed that the shooting had taken place in some other villages, it was nevertheless decided that members of the joint militia unit should step up their night patrols in this village.

The participants in the meeting voiced their message to the presidencies of the SFRY and Socialist Republic of Serbia, saying that they will not emigrate but demand to have security and a guaranteed peaceful life. If they cannot be provided with that they will ask to be helped by volunteers from all over Yugoslavia.

The villagers of Svinjari also demand that the responsibility of the security center in Titova Mitrovica and the provincial secretariat for internal affairs for the shortcomings in their work be established as well as the reorganization of these services. During the last two nights a number of stores in Titova Mitrovica were looted.

Boycott of Classes Continues

LD2302102490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0937 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, 23 Feb (TANJUG)—After last night's expression of dissatisfaction over the curfew in Pristina and other places in Kosovo, the situation in the morning hours is mainly without excesses. However, the boycott of classes in elementary and secondary schools is continuing, although to a lesser extent. Work stoppages and political strikes are less numerous than in the past few days. Instead, numerous meetings with parents and other talks and negotiations to return students to schools and workers to jobs are under way.

Kosovo Polje Activists Attacked

LD2402181890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1503 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, 24 Feb (TANJUG)—The committee for all-people's defense and social self-protection of the municipality of Kosovo Polje has issued a statement which says Albanian nationalists and separatists attacked activists of this municipality who came to a meeting of the branch of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia of the village of Nakarade. This was done, the statement says, with the aim of destabilizing the situation in Kosovo Polje and provoking ethnic conflicts and bloodshed.

The statement does not quote any details about this incident, so it is not clear how it came about and how large or small it was. However, it is said that the public will be informed about everything after a report from the security forces.

The committee assesses that the incident was organized "by groups outside Kosovo Polje, in league with well-known nationalists and separatists from this municipality." The statement says that the committee, in cooperation with the provincial and republican organs, is taking measures "so that a further escalation of greater Albanian nationalism and chauvinism does not occur." The committee assesses that a complete public security department should be formed in Kosovo Polje as a matter of urgency.

'Several Thousand' Ready To Settle

AU2302130690 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Feb 90 p 3

[M. M. report: "Accommodation Only Condition"]

[Text] Belgrade—Several thousand people are already ready to depart for Kosovo. In the last 5 days the Belgrade Initiative Committee for the Return of Serbs and Montenegrins to Kosovo registered some 1,400 people who are willing to settle in Kosovo with their families.

What is surprising and encouraging is that there are more people who have never lived in Kosovo than those who have. This was stated by Pavle Dzelatovic, member of the Initiative Committee. We are mainly talking about educated young people who want to live there and perform jobs for which they are trained. However, this does not seem to be the condition. The only condition mentioned is the provision of accommodation, even if only a temporary accommodation.

In addition to Serbs and Montenegrins, among those who have registered to go to Kosovo there are Muslims, Croats, and some foreigners who have acquired Yugoslav citizenship.

Albanians Sentenced in Prizren

AU2002091990 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Feb 90 p 4

[J.M. report: "Demonstrators Imprisoned"]

[Text] Prizren—The Prizren Communal Magistrate's Court yesterday sentenced 10 separatists to between 30

and 60 days' imprisonment for their participation in hostile demonstrations in Prizren and surrounding villages.

Sadri (56), Azem (90), and Shaip Dakaj (33), all farm laborers from Korisa near Prizren, were each sentenced to 60 days. Mehmed Osmanaj (25), farm laborer from Djonaj, was sentenced to 50 days; Shaban Ukaj (70) and Abdyl Dakaj (52) from Korisa and Rexhe Memaj (29) and Seladin Selmani (69) from Prizren each received 40 days. Osman Vekaj (58) and Zejnel Kukaj (20), both from Korisa, were each imprisoned for 30 days.

'Independent Journalists' Decry Repression

AU2402200790 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 24 Feb 90

[Text] A press release by the initiatory council for the formation of the Association of Independent Journalists of Kosovo states the following:

What is currently happening in Kosovo constitutes terror and reprisals systematically carried out by some members of the Combined Detachment of the Federal Militia against innocent citizens of Albanian nationality, which spares neither children, women, nor old people and is unprecedented in the civilized world.

What surprises us even more is the profound silence of official institutions at all levels toward these reprisals. For this reason, in the name of justice and of the Yugoslavia desired by all nations and nationalities wanting to live on equal terms, the initiatory council for the formation of the Association of Independent Journalists of Kosovo calls on all reasonable people in Yugoslavia to oppose this unprecedented persecution of the Albanian nationality with all their might.

Slovene Party Issues Statement

LD2102230590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1819 GMT 21 Feb 90

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 21 Feb (TANJUG)—The SFRY Presidency's decision to involve some Yugoslav People's Army units in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo has caused us to be justifiably alarmed. This is said in a statement issued by the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia-Party of Democratic Reform on the situation in Kosovo.

"The decision suggests that a policy is being perpetuated which has been proved to be wrong and which can lead to a civil war in the heart of the Balkans. The Yugoslav state, which is the state of us all, must not become a toy in the hands of adventurers and irresponsible people. We do not accept a policy which is aggravating repression every time when sooner or later an inevitable dialogue about a political solution becomes possible. The best guarantee that the Army will not be used to shed blood and against the nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia is for Army units to return to their barracks," the statement says. [passage omitted]

We are asking the Presidency of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Slovenia and the presidencies of other socialist republics and of both socialist autonomous provinces, the statement says, to ask the SFRY Presidency to revoke its decision on the use of Yugoslav People's Army units for settling the situation in Kosovo.

At the same time we are drawing attention to the fact that the Yugoslav People's Army is also the army of the SR of Slovenia and that we are duty-bound to take part when decisions are taken on its use and that we wish to do so.

We are suggesting to the Assembly, to the Executive Council, and to the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia that they should examine the situation which has arisen and any possible measures, especially from the point of view of the responsibility of the SR of Slovenia for the federation and from the point of view of the sovereignty of the SR of Slovenia, says the statement issued by the Central Committee Presidium of the LC of Slovenia-Party of Democratic Reform.

Slovenes To Oppose Kosovo Orders

AU2502134790 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 22 Feb 90 p 2

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 21 Feb—Several statements have reached our editorial offices after yesterday's decision by the SFRY Presidency on new orders issued to the Yugoslav People's Army in Kosovo. We are publishing them in slightly shortened versions: [passage omitted on Slovene Party statement]

Without Repression

We are worried at the great differences within the SFRY Presidency regarding the ways the Kosovo situation, heated to the boiling point, should be resolved. We socialists appealed to the SFRY Presidency not to yield to the pressure of politicians and the interests of a single people, to abolish the state of emergency which before our eyes and those of the world is degenerating into a "legal" state repression against the ethnic Albanians in Kosovo, and with its authority to ensure the beginning of a dialogue with the legitimate Kosovo alternative movement. However, this very SFRY Presidency adopted a decision on the involvement of Yugoslav People's Army units in Kosovo also "in our name," so that the constitutional order may be protected and violence prevented.

On the same morning, the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia criticized the Slovenes because we refused any further participation in the special units of the People's Militia in Kosovo. Now we are worried because in view of the fact that only a small percentage of recruits from Slovenia serve the Army in Slovenia, it is quite clear that a considerable number of our men are

serving in the Yugoslav People's Army units which yesterday received the SFRY Presidency order about a specific engagement.

We in the Socialist Alliance of Slovenia are convinced that the democratic rights of the state cannot be built on slogans about human rights and a law-governed state, which sooner or later serve only as a screen and a pretext for preserving power and denying the ethnic Albanians' rights in Kosovo. This is even less possible with the introduction of additional repressive measures.

Therefore we are extremely worried with regard to yesterday's decision by the SFRY Presidency, and we fear that these measures will cause another increase in tension and even greater intolerance between the members of the various peoples in Kosovo.

[Signed] Darja Lavtizar-Bebler,
Socialist Alliance of Slovenia.

Beginning of Civil War?

The rumors about the engagement of Yugoslav People's Army units in Kosovo have become true with the SFRY Presidency order of 20 February 1990. With this decision, a civil war is formally beginning in Kosovo.

Thus the last myth of our Army—as a Yugoslav People's Army—has been destroyed, because an army that acts against the people in the name of some "higher" aims cannot be a people's army.

For whom and against whom will the soldiers fight? They carry out their army duty and come from all the parts of our country. Will we imprison those of our boys who would not want to join the Army in Kosovo because their conscience does not allow them to join? The answer, of course, is "No!" They will get our support!

Our calls against violence, for peace and democracy, and our demands for an immediate end to the use of repression as a possible solution to the situation in Kosovo have still not recieved a response. Therefore we simply cannot agree with the policy that sees the Albanians in Kosovo merely as enemies and cannot and will not exploit the possibilities and opportunities offered for talks and a peaceful resolution of conflicts. The Kosovo alternative movement, which strives for a dialogue and an urgent solving of the disputed questions in Kosovo, is now forced to face guns and armed soldiers.

We therefore oppose the SFRY Presidency decision, we demand an immediate recall of the order, and an opportunity for the various views of the people living in Kosovo to be confronted, yet not over gun barrels but at a negotiating table.

We will do everything in our power to prevent the departure of Slovene boys to Kosovo, and we will demand that this be effected through our representatives in the assembly.

For ZSMS [abbreviation for the former Socialist Youth Federation of Slovenia]—Liberal Party:
[Signed] Jozef Skolc.

Albanians Protest Militia Violence

AU2302104690 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 18 Feb 90 p 12

[C. Mazrekaj report: "Beatings and Mistreatment Aggravate the Situation"]

[Text] Decani, 17 Feb— The security forces' assaults and beatings and the many cases of imprisonment yesterday were the reason for a protest gathering of about 500 mainly elderly citizens in front of the Communal Assembly today. The gathering was an expression of fury against everything that happened yesterday in Decani, when a number schoolchildren passed through the town center to visit the cemetery, and a number of others attempted to organize a demonstration after what they called the intolerable behavior of members of the militia.

The assembled crowd was highly indignant at some communal leaders and insisted on explanations, also demanding that all those who exceeded their authority, thus aggravating the situation, should be held responsible. An agreement was reached that representatives from the gathering, close relatives of those involved, and certain eyewitnesses of these events should meet in the Communal Assembly hall and present their complaints and demands in the presence of the communal leaders.

The first speaker, the teacher Zymber Alimusaj, after talking about the work of the Brotherhood Primary School in Decani, which he said was an outstanding center of brotherhood, unity, and togetherness, asked with tears in his eyes who was responsible for allowing members of the militia to enter the school with their automatic weapons, pointing the barrels at the pupils and mistreating them, while they beat up and mistreated our colleague Sinan Shehu and another citizen in the presence of our pupils, arresting them without a shred of an excuse when they took shelter in the mosque yard as they were escorting our pupils home. Rexhep Maksutaj, also a teacher at this school, said that the militia had hit him on the chest with their automatic weapons, and said that it is strange that, before the militia entered the schoolyard, a militiaman identified only by his first name (Sloba) took away all the Serbian and Montenegrin children in cars. These speakers said that they spoke on behalf of all the school's pupils and teachers and that they would not hold classes until their imprisoned colleague was returned to them and explanations of all cases of the militia exceeding their authority were given.

The 80-year-old Xhem Loshaj from the village of Carrabreg said that he had been manhandled on leaving the mosque. I saw with my own eyes how the miliitiaman Veka Jokic indicated to other militiamen with his finger who was to be beaten and mistreated. I hardly managed to reach home, but there I saw even worse things. I was kicked in my own courtyard, where they also beat up and

manhandled Xhem Coraj, his wife, a 12-year oid child, and two small children who were feeding the animals in the yard. Two of them were imprisoned.

The story of Zymber Cacaj from Decani was even more spine-chilling. I was beaten up in my own home with Muje and Idriz Mehmeti. They imprisoned Idriz and he is now in hospital because of his severe injuries. All well and good, but think of what it means when a 4-year-old child is taken from his mother and beaten up before our eyes.

Kadri Hoxha mentioned to the communal leaders cases of the mistreatment of elderly men in the village of Lebushe, and how in the village of Strelc i Eperm the militia threw two tear gas grenades into a room where a family was sitting. Maxhun Lekaj also mentioned the mistreatment of two young people from Lumbardh and added that he was sure that what happened in Decani could not happen even in Palestine.

The 75-year-old Selman Gjikokaj from Decani asked who had ordered the militia to mistreat innocent people and said that his house was riddled like a seive with the bullets of automatic weapons. Imagine what my family and children went through.

Rexhep Shabanaj said that the situation cannot be pacified by violence and terror. Why do they call us terrorists, apes, and so forth? Nobody among the people has fired on the militia, but they are killing, assaulting, and mistreating us. Who is frightened of dialogue with the people? No work or classes can continue under such circumstances. One of our laborers was wounded on his way home from work. Is this not a tragedy for us and our children? We must live together, but without privileges, because that is the only way to build trust. As far as I know, there has never been an interethnic excess in our commune, he concluded.

Ali Loshaj said that yesterday, in the case of the family of his cousin Bajram, the militia violated all standards of professional behavior. They suddenly entered the yard and as if they were commandos beat up and manhandled the whole family, a 75-year-old woman, Xhevdet and Osman, two young men of 20 and 25, and two people from the village of Raushiq. The old lady suffered serious injuries and we have sent her to Pec Hospital for care.

The story of Deme Bytyqi from Decani was also terrifying. They manhandled my entire family in our home. In tears, he asked where else he could take refuge but his home. Let them murder my son in the street, and I promise that I will not even go out to bury him, but they cannot beat us and attack us in our own homes, at work, and in tea shops. Nobody and no system in the world can do this. Agreeing with this, Jakup Cacaj said that the people are not carrying out the terror. Such a thing is unknown in history, but unfortunately what is happening in Kosovo today is like in the times of Ballaban Pasha [15th century Ottoman general]. According to him, the authorities from the commune to the federation are to blame. The speeches of Pashe Kuqi, Bilal Demukaj, Mehmet Binakaj, and Deme Beqiraj also cited different incidents in which members of the joint militia unit had exceeded their authority.

The unanimous demand of all those present was an end to bloodshed, violence, and mistreatment, and that the Albanian nationality no longer be ignored and identified with nationalists, separatists, apes, and perpetrators of genocide and terrorism. An appeal was also issued for people not to take to the streets, but on the condition that a sincere and human dialogue with the Albanian people and that characteristics that have never been part of the Albanian people's tradition should not be ascribed to them. We condemn all hostile activity, all forms of pressure, and all tendencies aimed at destroying our system.

We are for brotherhood and unity and the equality of all peoples and nationalities. At the same time, we demand that the Decani militiaman Veka Jokic be transferred elsewhere, that someone from the provincial leadership attend our meeting to be held next Monday, and that measures be taken against those who have exceeded their authority and against the culprits of the bloodshed in Kosovo. We also demand that everybody imprisoned yesterday in our commune be released and that the state of emergency should be lifted. Dine Gaxheri and Haxhi Cekaj spoke about the immediate duties of all the people to help stabilize the situation.

Islamic Elders' Statement

LD2302204990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1727 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 23 Feb (TANJUG)—"Facing the difficult and extremely dramatic situation in Kosovo the Supreme Islamic Council of Elders of the Islamic community in the SFRY is appealing again to and warning this country's competent organs that they should take urgent measures to avoid the worst," it is said in a statement from today's extraordinary session of the Islamic Council of Elders. At the same time it is demanded of Islamic believers and religious servants to retain their human dignity and do everthing to protect man as God's being, regardless of his religious, national, or any other affiliation.

"Although the Supreme Islamic Council of Elders appealed 10 days ago for calming of the situation and suggested a way to resolve it, the situation has, unfortunately, deteriorated to an even worse degree and is threatening to escalate to the point where unforeseeable consequences might be brought upon our entire country and all its nations. It is therefore evident that our appeal has fallen on deaf ears and that the policy applied to Kosovo is yielding ever more disastrous results, the statement claims.

"To threaten the basic freedoms of citizens is also to threaten religious freedoms," the statement says. "In a number of places all over Kosovo about 10 religious

servants or imams have, in the course of the last few days, been harrassed and physically tortured for no apparent reason whatsoever at the hands of some members of the joint militia unit, and a member of the supreme body of the Islamic community, Osman Voksi, was killed on the doorstep of his house. All this brings even more anxiety and fear," it is said in this statement.

In addition, the Supreme Islamic Council of Elders is calling once again on its religious servants and members of the Islamic community to contribute to overcoming the difficult situation in Kosovo and restoring peace, harmony, and a happy shared life for all people. It was also concluded at the session that they would demand that President of the SFRY Presidency Janez Drnovsek and the Federal Excecutive Council president receive them.

Islamic Council Condemns Religious Violence

LD1202115290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1040 GMT 12 Feb 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 12 Feb (TANJUG)—In the wake of some recent incidents in Sarajevo when the shopwindow of one bookstore was smashed and that of another bookstore smashed and set on fire, apparently because they displayed Salman Rushdie's Satanic Verses, today the Supreme Islamic Council of Elders voiced his attitude.

By underlining its earlier view that the Satanic Verses is a book whose message insults all Islamic believers, the Supreme Islamic Council of Elders stresses that no dispute can be resolved by violent methods. It also voices its regret if these incidents at the bookstores were religiously motivated.

Pancevski Addresses Kosovo Aktiv

AU2002083190 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Feb 90 p 4

[M. Antic report: "We Will Win the Battle for the Yugoslav Kosovo"]

[Excerpts] Pristina—Milan Pancevski, president of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee Presidium, and Dobrosav Bjeletic, member of the League of Communists [LC] of Serbia Central Committee Presidium, yesterday participated in the work of the expanded session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium which discussed the situation in the province following the recent hostile and separatist demonstrations, and the task of the LC with regard to improving the grave situation.

This was the subject of the speech by Rahman Morina, president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, who said:

"The LC of Kosovo faces the most difficult task to date—to finally return peace to Kosovo, to overcome strong resistance to the implementation of the LCY's policy, and to prevent the activities of Albanian nationalists and separatists. The task is especially difficult because in the past few days we faced yet another wave of open and aggressive attacks by Albanian nationalists and separatists. Thinking that the adjournment of the 14th extraordinary congress has provided them with an opportune moment, they tried, under the cloak of a struggle for democracy, to take over power and liquidate the LC."

Morina then said that the Provincial Committee believes that this was the case of nationalists trying to realize the idea of so-called great Albania. [passage omitted]

At the beginning of his speech, Milan Pancevski stressed that as regards Kosovo, everybody in Yugoslavia, in particular ethnic Albanians, which is to say the Communists and other progressive and democratic forces in their ranks, must face indisputable facts and truths which determine to a great extent the essence of the problems. Only these facts and truths can ensure the lasting and democratic foundation for overcoming the presently unfavorable situation. However difficult it may be to face the truth now, because certain distorted opinions, concepts, and relations in society in general and Kosovo in particular have been created over several decades, the only correct and democratic alternative and prospect for Yugoslavia and all its peoples and nationalities is, Pancevski said, to confront this distorted picture and various illusions.

We must above all face the fact that for a long time we have been conducting a policy which considerably deviated from the original LC orientations and the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] principles. In applying these original postulates we have in fact developed statist-bureaucratic relations in society. These relations were particularly developed in the economy through the so-called consensus economy, Pancevski stressed. This was feeding autarky, the absolutization of particularist interests, usurpation, the concentration of power and authority in narrow circles, and the development and domination of policentric statism. This has led to the absurd glorification of the state with all its attributes, the domination and absolutization of closed national economies, and thus almost to the prevention of the self-managing and economic integration of the state. Such conditions and interethnic relations objectively contributed to the development and escalation of nationalism, chauvinism, separatism, and even unitarianism.

Milan Pancevski, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, then said that if we jointly want to find a way out of the present extremely unfavorable and confusing situation in Kosovo and outside it, we must proceed from the truth that the essence of all these phenomena is Albanian nationalism, chauvinism, and separatism, and whose clear aims are the secession of Kosovo and other parts of Yugoslavia, which means a direct threat to Yugoslavia's sovereignty and integrity. If

progressive and democratic forces among ethnic Albanians and other peoples in Yugoslavia do not proceed from this fact, I think that we will all continue to wander in the vicious circle, the agony, tragedy, and various illusions about Kosovo, and other parts of the country will last longer, and disunity in Yugoslavia will become deeper. In other words, social reforms and the country's overall stability will be threatened. This is why we are openly asking: In whose interest would this course of events in Kosovo and outside it be? The answer is quite clear. This cannot be in the interest of any nation or any nationality that lives in Kosovo, but only in the interest of the darkest forces of all colors and retrograde ideologies.

Recently much has been said about the need for a democratic dialogue, something that has never been questioned in principle or practice. On the contrary, the LCY has always insisted on and demanded substantive political discussions on every question, and a corresponding real Yugoslav political platform for overcoming present problems and eliminating any further escalation of nationalism and separatism, Pancevski said. But what has been the answer to such a political approach and such platforms? Instead of democratic dialogue and solutions to problems, we have witnessed further organization of various political pressures, the manipulation of people, open demands for the change and overthrow of the country's constitutional system, elements of armed uprising, terrorism, and similar things. Therefore, it must be clear to everyone that as regards the sovereignty and integrity of the country and its republics, the principle of the equality of all peoples and nationalities, and the preservation of the foundations of the constitutional organization and so forth, there can be no dialogue, or rather, capitulation. This is, after all, how all legal and legitimate organs in the country are obliged to act according to the Constitution.

Milan Pancevski then stressed that the LCY as a whole and the LC of Serbia and Kosovo have opened up new processes and political initiatives to solve the total social crisis, and in this context, to develop and affirm interethnic relations, and solve the major problems which Kosovo faces. I am deeply convinced that the AVNOJ foundations, the policy of the LC on interethnic relations as a whole, and on Kosovo in particular, are the only policy and program that can, in a principled and objective way, solve the national issue on the principles of brotherhood and unity and the federal organization of our country.

The many complexities and contradictions of our current agitation, changes, and reforms are also a result of the presence of tendencies, under the guise of radical reforms, alleged de-ideologization, and general criticism, to totally denounce and discount socialism as the basis of our development. The LC and progressive forces are often on the defensive and do not make a clear distinction between what constitutes the new essence and content of one type of democracy, a more humane and richer stage in the development of socialism, which should be formulated and realized through our reforms, and what in essence amounts to a struggle to overthrow socialism. This is why the LCY must, above all in its own ranks, crystallize its political platform with regard to its development, thus more quickly ridding itself of all fellow travelers of different political orientations, and act in a more offensive way in its struggle for a new democratic socialism and for the SFRY. This is the only realistic chance for the LCY to survive on the political stage. Yugoslavia's working class and all its peoples and nationalities want to see the realization of their historic and vital interests in socialism and AVNOJ Yugoslavia, Milan Pancevski told the participants in yesterday's expanded session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee. In conclusion, he stressed:

"The LC will enjoy full political support in its efforts to realize as successfully as possible the new program commitments of the LCY which will, with the power of progressiveness and a real prospect for a better life for all, destroy and overcome everything that was a burden in the past, everything that has been pulling us back, and everything that conflicts with the vital and historic interests of all our peoples and nationalities. [passage omitted]

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

Chances and Prospects

The LCY, in particular the LC of Kosovo, regardless of current weaknesses concerning the LCY's unity and other problems, has a political program which, objectively speaking, has real chances and prospects. It is a program that is a synthesis of the progressive aspirations of all our people, all our nations and nationalities, which expresses not only special and diverse interests, but means a Yugoslav synthesis without which the basic life and individual interests of all our peoples and nationalities and the true interests of Albanian nationality cannot be successfully expressed and realized. (Milan Pancevski)

The Blindness of Sanctimonious Gurus

As regards the impudent threats to and violations of the constitutional order, it is quite clear that the basic foundations and values of our society, and the achievements of the national liberation war and socialist revolution, must be defended at any cost and with all available means. Therefore, it is totally unacceptable and groundless to claim that the normal application of our Constitution and law, especially the defense of our country's integrity, are repressive.

Such claims can only be an expression of the manipulation on the part of Albanian separatists and nationalists, or an expression of impudent political blindness, or serious political demagoguery and alleged concern for the fate and equality of ethnic Albanians, democracy, and similar things. In doing that, they are obviously less and less concerned about the realization of the true

interests of ethnic Albanians, equality, the human and national rights of all peoples and nationalities living in Kosovo, the country's fate, and its stability and integrity. These sanctimonious gurus seem to be deaf and blind with regard to what is probably one of the biggest emigrations under nationalist duress in Europe in the 20th Century—such is the emigration of 200,000 Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo. They also seem to be deaf and blind with regard to other similar departures by the non-Albanian population from some parts of Macedonia and other parts of the country. They are also deaf and blind to a life under continuous fear and pressure, which even threatens the safety and lives of children. What is also surprising is the lack of basic concern of such alleged democrats for hatred being sown among young people in Kosovo, for young Albanians being the subject of various forms of manipulation, for young Albanians being pushed, without any feeling of humanity and responsibility, into the abyss of chauvinism, and for their youth, future, and even lives that are being unscrupulously sacrificed.

What is also tragic is that the attempts are made to equate the entire Albanian nation through these manipulating and sanctimonious theses with the activities of nationalists and separatists and their aims. (Milan Pancevski) [passage omitted]

Banja Luka City Transport Workers Strike

LD2302222590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2101 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] Banja Luka, 23 Feb (TANJUG)—Workers in the socially owned enterprise of Gradski Saobracaj [city transport], who are on strike beginning today, this evening blocked all the approaches to the centre of Banja Luka with about 60 buses.

In view of the fact that in this way normal transportation and city life is threatened in a major way, the executive committee of the municipal assembly decided at this evening's session to use buses belonging to work organizations here and of neighboring municipalities to remove the buses and enable traffic to flow.

The strikers requested and have effected the replacement of the enterprise's leadership, but an agreement has not been reached on the demand for a monthly basic salary of 3,000 dinars and the banning of private minibus transportation in Banja Luka.

Milosevic Accused of Plotting Against Jovic

AU2102110990 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 16 Feb 90 p 9

[Review of Milan Predan article from Maribor VECER: "Milosevic's Silent Coup"]

[Text] "A new scenario for Slobodan Milosevic's silent coup d'etat has been heard in Belgrade corridors recently: The present vice president of the SFRY Presidency, Borisav Jovic, who is scheduled to assume the post of the president on 15 May, will be accused by Slobodan Milosevic of not sufficiently defending Serbia's interests in this organ. He will convince the Serbian public about this through a suitable media campaign. The republican assembly will recall Jovic, and instead of him, send to the SFRY Presidency—we know whom. So, on 15 May Milosevic will become the official president of Yugoslavia." This is stated in an article entitled "Milosevic's Silent Coup?" in Maribor VECER [date not given].

The author of this article, Milan Predan, allows for the possibility that this is "perhaps too transparent and sensationalist a scenario," but at the same time points out that "it is in fact the latest events concerning the speech by Janez Drnovsek in the SFRY Assembly and the recent talks between the Serbian and Slovene Executive Councils' delegations that directly point to the frictions within the Serbian elite in power which is obviously becoming increasingly tired and nervous with the battles on many fronts."

The Maribor daily believes that the "meeting in Markovic's cabinet was the result of the 'softer' current in the Serbian leadership, rather than the tactics of Milosevic's hard line."

Commenting on Borisav Jovic's speech at the session of both SFRY Assembly chambers, VECER writes that Jovic "virtually dissociated himself from certain 'insufficiently Serbian' views contained in Drnovsek's speech, obviously out of fear that his 'electorate' (read: Milosevic) may equate him with the more tolerant and reconciliatory views of the president from Slovenia."

Milan Predan concludes that Borisav Jovic "is obviously aware that his position in Milosevic's hierarchy is not all that firm, and that this makes the above-mentioned speculations realistic. It is precisely because of this that Drnovsek should not lose his nerve now, although some people believe that after the recent bloody events in Kosovo he should openly say what he thinks about the protagonists of the police's terror in Kosovo, even at the cost of having to resign from his post. There is still plenty of time until 15 May for the SFRY Presidency to reinforce its liberal-reformist current and to prevent the dangerous consequences of a possibility of Milosevic entering the Presidency through the back door."

Drnovsek Leaves on Official Visit to Egypt

LD2602090890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0717 GMT 26 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Feb (TANJUG)—At the invitation of President Husni Mubarak, SFRY Presidency President Janez Drnovsek left this morning on a three-day official visit to Egypt.

The Yugoslav-Egyptian talks, which begin in Cairo today, will mostly be devoted to the restoration of

economic cooperation which has been stagnating for the last few years, then to the situation in the Middle East and nonaligned problems.

Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar and Federal Secretary for Foreign Economic Relations Franc Horvat, also left with Janez Drnovsek. They were seen off at Belgrade airport by SFRY Presidency Vice President Borisav Jovic, Federal Executive Committee Vice President Aleksandar Mitrovic, Federal Secretary for Internal Affairs Petar Gracanin, and Blagoje Adzic, chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav Armed Forces.

Loncar, Eagleburger Discuss Cooperation

LD2502223690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1727 GMT 25 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Feb (TANJUG)—Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Budimir Loncar today received Lawrence Eagleburger, deputy U.S. secretary of state, who, as part of his European tour after Hungary, Poland, and Austria, arrived today on a visit to Yugoslavia. In friendly and open talks, with colleagues participating, the development of cooperation between Yugoslavia and the United States in the context of the new international circumstances was positively evaluated on both sides, and the interest in comprehensive relations, based on verified principles, being further improved was stressed. Continued political dialogue at a high and at the highest level, it was noted on both sides, is of special importance for their relations.

Along with the acknowledgement of a positive trend in the development of economic relations and the increased interest of U.S. companies and banks, as regards new investments in our economy, the two sides expressed readiness to stimulate economic cooperation even more in the coming period, especially in the field of science and technology, joint ventures, and industrial cooperation deals. The U.S. side stressed that the successful implementation of the Federal Executive Council's [FEC] economic program, as well as the economic and political reform measures, have a direct impact on stimulating U.S business circles' interest in a more significant overall increase in the economic and financial cooperation between the two countries.

There was also a meaningful exchange of views on current processes in Europe, on the problems of world development, the activities of the Nonaligned Movement, and other international questions. Tomorrow FEC President Ante Markovic will receive the high-ranking U.S. official, and other contacts of a political and economic nature are also envisaged.

Loncar Letter to UN Chief on Kosovo

LD2202214390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1853 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 22 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar sent a letter to U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar presenting the main facts of the position of the Albanian minority in Yugoslavia and the problem of the province of Kosovo, including its international aspect, government spokesman Ivo Vajgl told a regular press conference here today.

Strikes and demonstrations of Albanian separatists in Kosovo have intensified over the past two years.

Twenty-six demonstrators were killed in clashes with the police at the beginning of January and end of February this year. Curfew was introduced in the province yesterday. Over 250,000 Serbs and Montenegrins have left Kosovo since 1941, fleeing under pressure from Albanian (?separatists and) chauvinists.

Ivo Vajgl said that the European Parliament resolution on Kosovo [words indistinct] heavily one-sided." The resolution "never mentions the serious problem of migration of Serb and Montenegrins, which is at the root of the Kosovo problem," Vajgl said.

He also noted that although the resolution positively assessed the reform-oriented efforts of the Yugoslav Government, even this was put in a "context which is difficult to accept."

The European Parliament in mid-February expressed concern over the situation in Kosovo seeing it an element of instability on the continent. The European Parliament demanded the freeing of political prisoners and asked the Yugoslav State Presidency to review the possibility of suspending the trial of former Kosovo party leader Azem Vlasi charged with endangering the country's social system.

It also demanded that the Serbian authorities find a compromise solution regarding the autonomy of the province and the problems of rights of ethnic Albanians and the protection of rights of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins.